SEGEL

FRUSTRATION IN ADOLESCENT YOUTH

Bulletin 1951 No. 1

Frustration in Adolescent Youth

Office of Education

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY

Frustration in Adolescent Youth

Its Development and Implications for the School Program

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Bulletin 1951, No. 1

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Foreword

ONE OF THE emphases of Life Adjustment Education is upon the adaptation of education to fit the needs and characteristics of youth. Many studies have been undertaken of such needs and characteristics both by psychologists and educators. It has been difficult to present this material for use by school program planners because there is so much of it and no over-all thread of organization. This bulletin attempts to form a frame of reference of the growth and development of youth based on the many sources of information available. It has done this through setting down a set of principles of growth and development of youth and showing how frustration is caused by interference with orderly growth and development and in outlining some of the educational implications. It is hoped the attempt will be useful in maintaining the life adjustment emphases in education and will prove to be in keeping with the growing body of knowledge concerning the growth and development of youth.

Special acknowledgement should be made to Grace S. Wright for her aid in developing certain materials.

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Introduction

THIS PRESENTATION is an attempt to produce a framework out of our knowledge of the growth and development of children and youth for use in determining the school program. This is necessary at a time when education has accepted the objective of universal secondary education.

Educators are in agreement with parents and citizens generally that all youth between the ages of 12 and 18 should attend school. Today, roughly 70 percent of youth of this age group are attending school. It is believed that the dropping out of school at these ages should be reduced. Educators are not making their attack on this problem primarily through increasing the compulsory school age laws to include these ages, rather they are attempting to set up educational programs which will have appeal for youth of these ages so that they will desire at attend school.

This is to a considerable extent an unrealized goal for education since a number of youth have been attending school to a considerable extent because of the compulsory school attendance laws and in relation to the strictness with which those laws were being enforced. It is believed that advances in our knowledge of the growth and development of youth enable us to set up procedures which will make possible more complete attainment of this goal. Recently, an attack on this problem has been promoted by the Office of Education under the title of Life Adjustment Education (45),[1] (82). This bulletin attempts to systematize the fundamental psychological concepts both for the purpose of supplying psychological rationale for the direction Life Adjustment Education is taking and to aid in its further development and possible redirection in order that it may more adequately reach its goal.

A simplified framework of principles governing the behavior of youth is outlined in this bulletin. This is done by unifying all behavior as of one type—that of making choices of goals and procedures for reaching those goals; by noting that these actions are accompanied by affective states classified as negative, positive, or neutral; and that the problem of education is to keep the balance of the affective influences while the youth is growing and developing. The task of education consists in providing those activities which develop all potentialities of an individual and by so doing more or less automatically provide the necessary affective or driving force.

[1] Numbers in parentheses refer to items in the references.

Section I

Characteristics of Psychosocial Development

Principle 1. All behavior results from a unifying process and growth which is called psychosocial development

A general and important concept used in this bulletin is that fundamentally all processes of learning and all activities in life, whether they deal with things or with people, are the same; they consist of the individual making choices of goals and attempting to find the appropriate procedures for the realization of those goals. Both thinking and emotion are involved. The level of thinking may range from high to low. In either case the effective side of the individual is influenced by, and in turn influences the choices he makes. The effective side of the individual is not something which can influence only certain aspects of behavior, such as social activities; it goes along in varying degrees with all behavior. In other words, the position taken here is that the classification of the choice-making characteristics into "intellectual" or "personality" traits is to some extent artificial, since all such activities are essentially the same. They all involve some "thinking" even though this may be at different levels, and all involve, in varying degree, some affective influence.[1]

The affective side of the individual is a tension which, at any particular time, tends to influence behavior negatively or positively. In general, the negative influence tends to reduce action in the individual and the positive influence to increase action. The affective side of the individual is an energizing mechanism. It is not selective in itself. It cannot make decisions. It follows that personality traits are simply names describing the ways in which these positive or negative forces appear to work on an individual. For example, take the common trait of jealousy. This is a negative or depressive type of reaction and the only reason it can be used as a word with meaning

[1] The writer believes this is in agreement with the analysis and review of learning theory made by Shoben (66).

at all is because it helps describe the behavior in the *particular type of situation* in which it occurs. It is the reaction when one's prestige falls because someone else receives approbation. If this same exact type of event happens in regard to the loss of some material thing through which we also lose prestige, the trait is not called jealousy but regret or depression. It is the particular situation which determines the behavior and this in turn determines the affective reaction be it jealousy or regret, not something unique in the trait itself. The trait has no reality beyond the activity, except its reality as a *negative* or *positive* force. In fact, if they were not connected with an activity, traits could not be named at all except for the general categories mentioned—positive or negative.

A feeling for this new concept can be seen from Escalona (24) who states:

> Psychosocial development is a term set to break down the boundary between the psychological and social aspect of development. The theoretical point of view referred to above views each area of growth and development as of no more than a single facet, among many, of one and the same process, as though, when we study language development, a motor development, a personality formation, we are each peering through a different window trying to discover what goes on within one and the same building. On the basis of such a view, the manner in which children are raised, and the attitudes to which they are exposed, are part and parcel of child development itself—not merely one of the factors which will influence it.

What shall this total of activities behavior be called? The activities of an individual consist of different functioning levels and are of different types insofar as varying degrees of affective components, some positive and some negative, make them so. Intelligence is not a good word because of its close connection with one level of activity and also because it implies a standard or index. One can have an index in any one activity, such as "intellectual," but it does not seem feasible to have an index for the totality of activities of an individual. The term "activities" or "behavior" may be used. However, since some new specific designation is needed, and since the activities are those in a choice situation, it is believed that "psychosocial activities" or "psychosocial development," depending upon the emphasis, would be a good name. The term "psychosocial" is suggested, too, because it does emphasize the importance of the setting of activities in the social milieu. The "personality sphere" of Cattell (11) would be a good word for the over-all activity except that "personality" has been used largely to denote the affective phase of activities. When "personality" and 'intelligence" are used in this bulletin to describe research results, they bear the traditional meaning. One cannot introduce an entirely new set of terms and be understood. Any one new word is sufficiently confusing.

The details of the argument for this concept are developed in a separate article (61).

Principle 2. There is a tendency for psychosocial growth and development to take place through an inner maturing process in an orderly manner

The psychosocial development of the individual is, in general, consistent with his physiological growth. The environment exercises considerable control over this growth, but there is also a strong internal force for physiological and psychosocial growth to take place in spite of environmental limitations. This has been revealed by Olson and Hughes (56) in their studies of growth in various physical and psychological measures. Figure 1 shows the relationship of various aspects of growth for one boy.

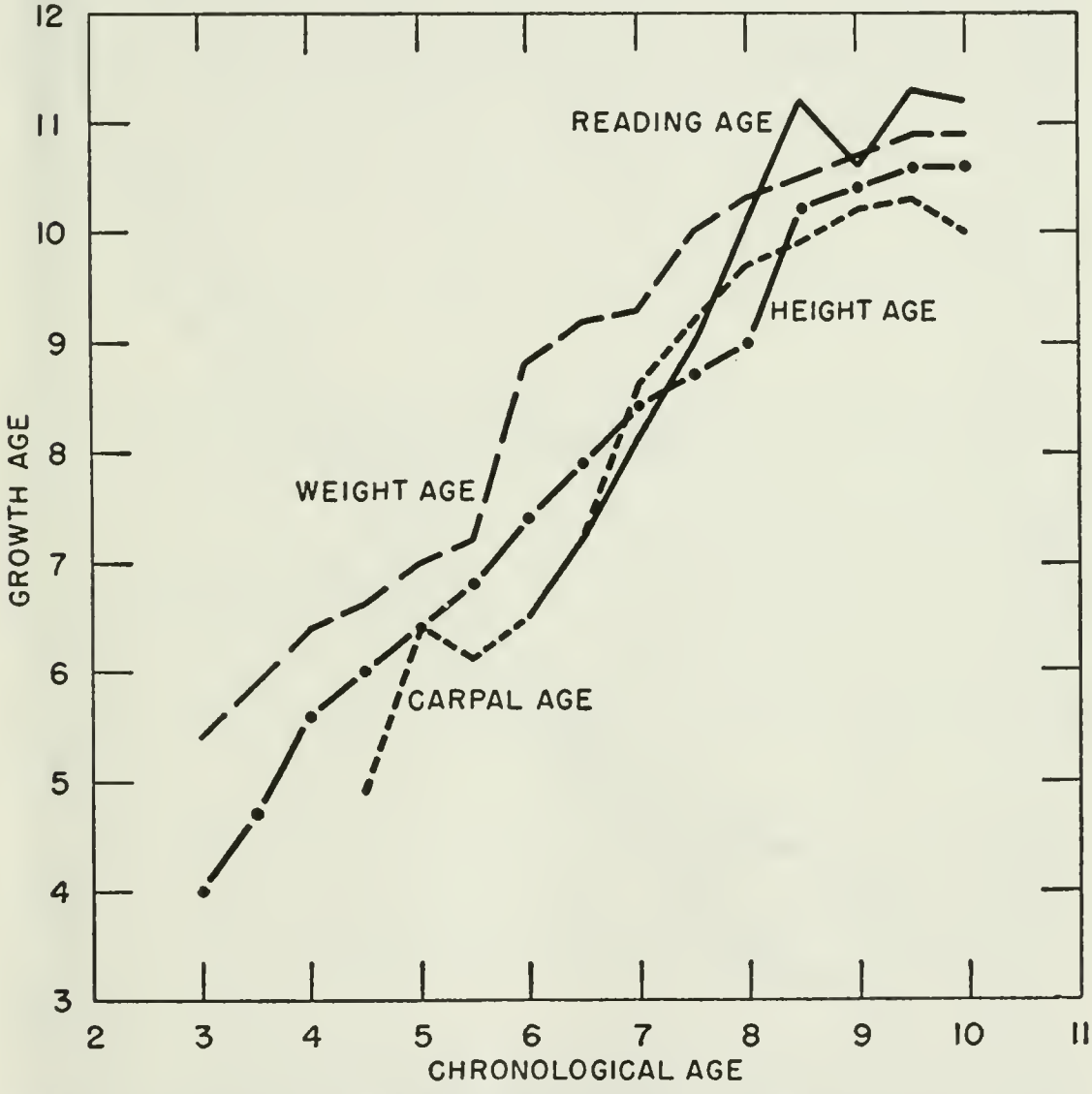

Figure 1.—Growth of a boy in several attributes. (Adapted from Olson and Hughes, 56.)

This principle is further borne out by findings of research on growth of children who have at various times been seriously deprived by the environ-

ment. There is a strong tendency for children to overcome the temporary effects of such deprivations. Usually, however, the development tends to be an orderly one, shown by the fact that children fail in tasks which require a maturity beyond that existing in them at the time.

A study which may be interpreted as an illustration of both aspects is that carried on in the Winnetka public schools over a period of 7 years (52). One experimental group of children who had had no regular instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic for the first year and a half of school and a control group of children who had had regular instruction were given standardized tests. Results on these tests are given in figure 2. They show that the superiority of the control group at the middle of the second grade was maintained for only a little over a year after regular instruction was also given to the experimental group. After that time, there was an increasing

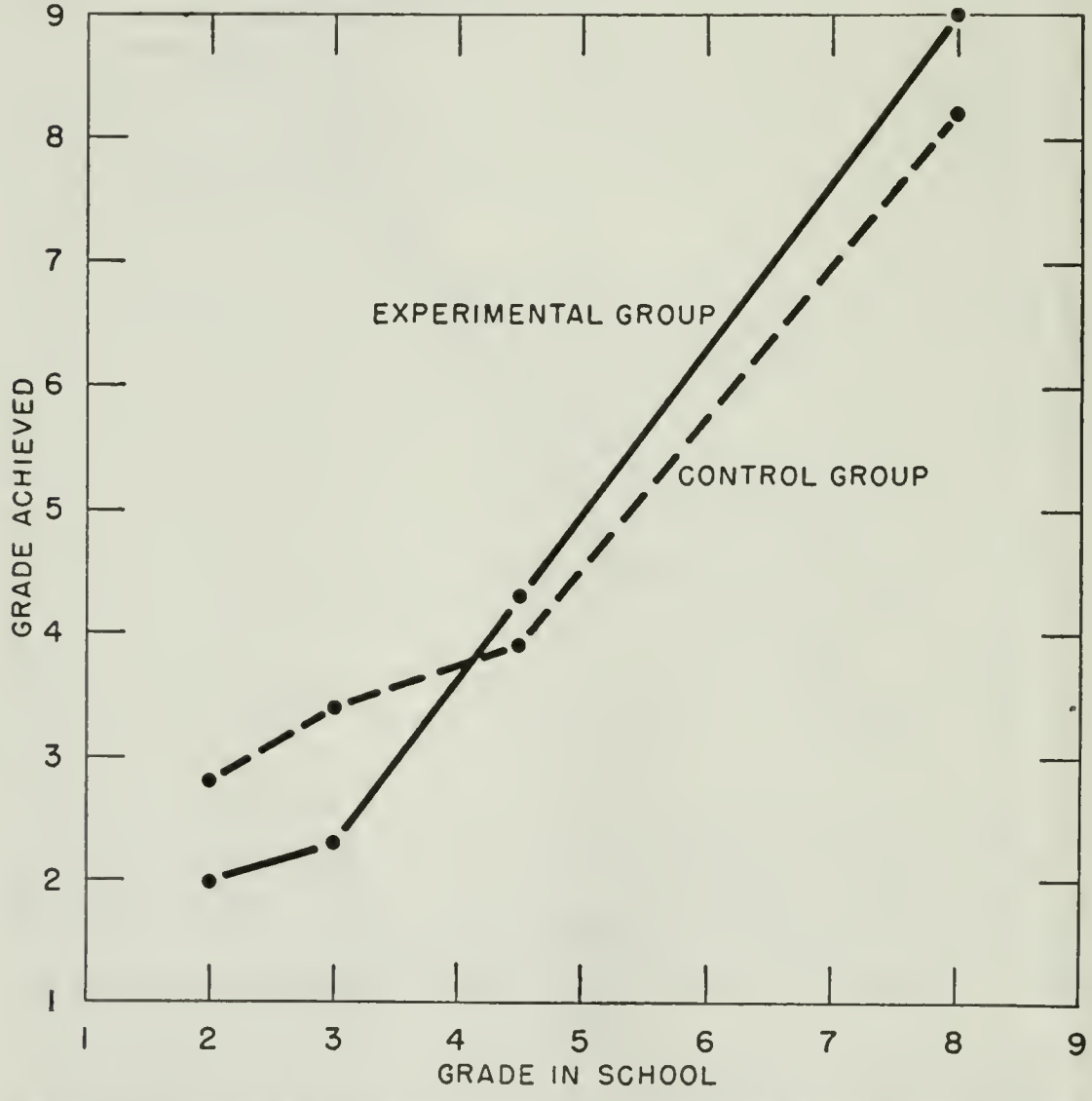

Figure 2.—Comparison of achievement of experimental group under delayed instruction with achievement of control group under usual instruction. (After Morphet and Washburne, 52.)

superiority of the experimental group, the group which had had a year and a half delay in formal instruction in the regular school subjects. From other research on this problem the results can be explained through the action of both factors given above: (1) that activity begun before the appropriate maturity had evolved, results in some inhibitory habits; and (2) that learning at a more appropriate time facilitates learning.

Principle 3. Each individual has his own rate and optimum point of psychosocial growth

That pupils have their own individual rates of growth is shown by the many studies of Olson (55). Figure 3 shows growth curves in reading for four boys: Tom and Tim who are brothers and Billy and Bobby who are also brothers. These curves indicate that the boys from different families have individual "family" growth curves in reading. What proportion in each case comes from the maturing process and what proportion comes from the similar environment is not known. That both contribute and that individuals do manifest varying individual growth curves is evident not only from this evidence, but also from other studies by Olson (55) and by Olson and Hughes (56).

These same growth curves also show that each child has his own optimum.[2] An important point in this particular connection is that children may arrive at an optimum point of development through varying rates of growth. In other words, the rate of growth of an individual in any one period is only in part related to the general level of his psychosocial development. Individuals during any period may be slow or fast in this development. This seems to be the reason for certain phenomena in the growth of certain groups of children. Freeman and Flory (31) found, for example, that in certain intellectual traits, the growth curves for low and high scores did not differ materially in their intellectual growth from ages 10 to 18 (figure 4), except

[2] It is not the purpose of this bulletin to involve itself with the heredity-environment controversy largely because the writer believes that the hereditary and environmental influences are too much bound together to be torn apart. It does use the concept of optimum development and growth and the resulting structuring of the individual's psychological and social development, but both these concepts involve the impact on the individual of his heredity and environment. The position of Tyler (77) is pertinent in this regard. She states:

> There is a common belief that only the innate characteristics are fixed and unchangeable; if a trait has been developed because of an environmental influence, it is thought to be modifiable at will. Neither part of this generalization is true. Hereditary traits can often be changed. Environmentally produced traits are often so firmly fixed that it is impossible to shake them. . . . It is important that people come to realize that all traits, hereditary and environmental alike, are somehow built into the individual's nervous system. Since human beings show a considerable capacity for learning, most of these traits are subject to modification, but both heredity and previous experience set limits to its nature and amount.

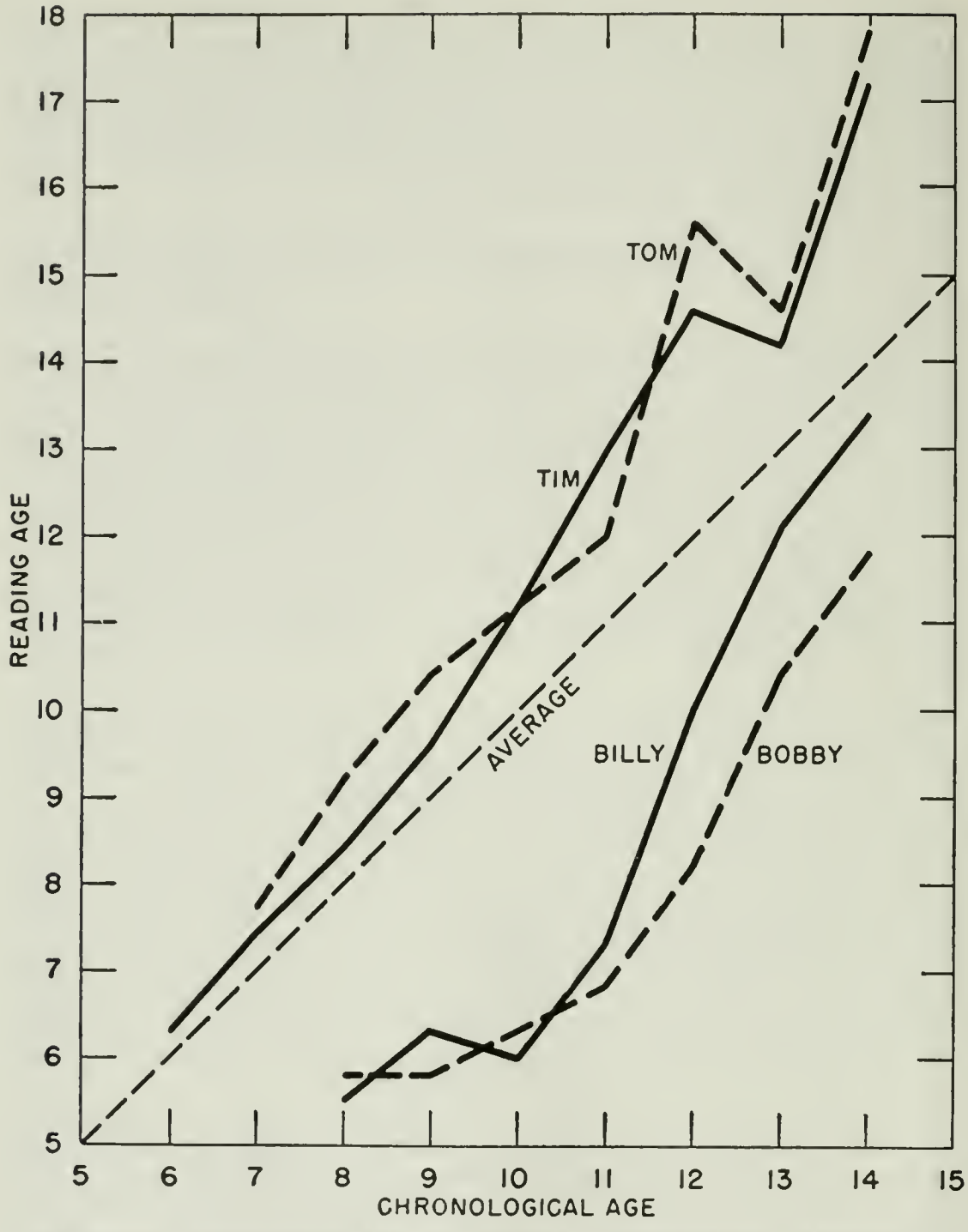

Figure 3.—Familial resemblance in reading. (Adapted from Olson, 55.)

that there was an increase in scores for the low group over those of the high group for the upper ages. The result is contrary to the usual distribution of levels of intelligence and its growth for various ability levels as shown in figure 5 [from Cornell (17)].

Cornell's data, which indicate potential attainment levels at various ages for pupils of varying levels of ability, are aimed primarily at the establishment of school programs for those levels. On the other hand Freeman and

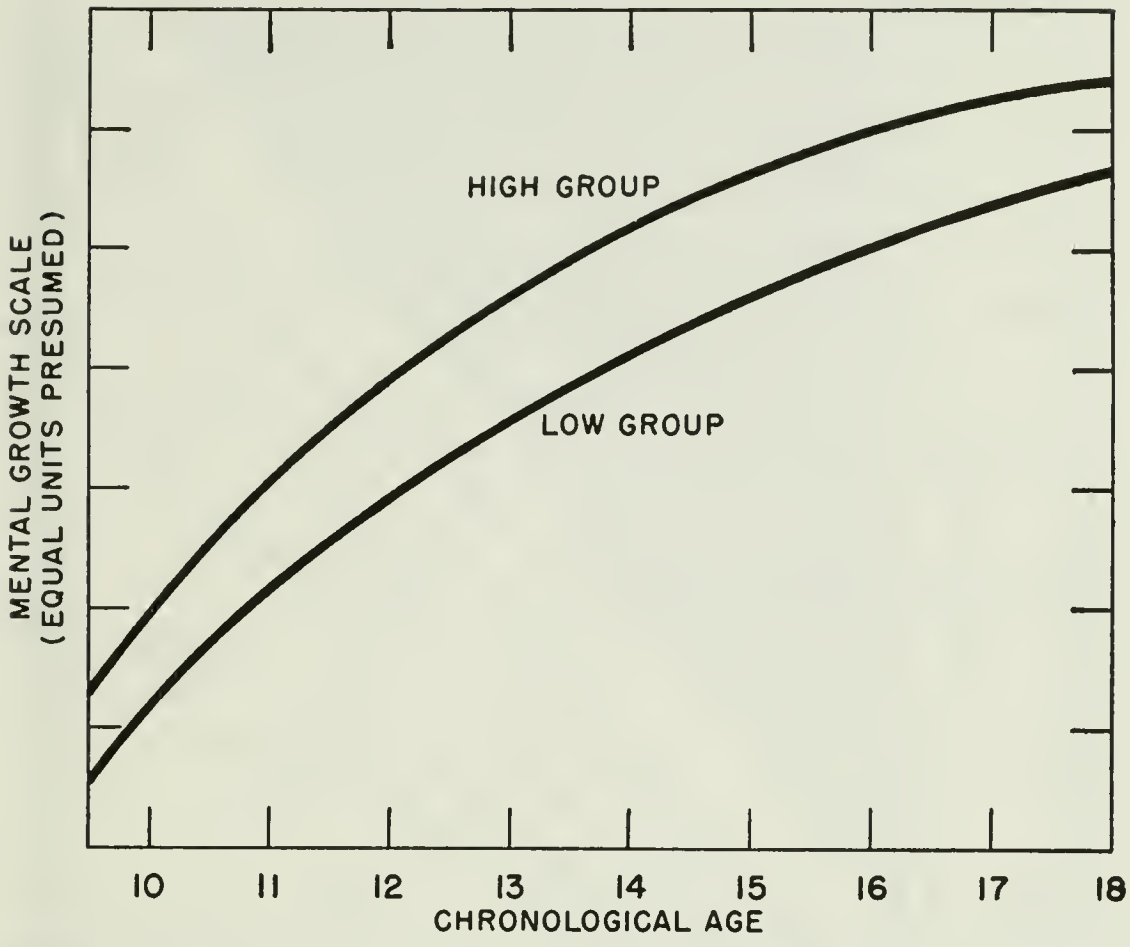

Figure 4.—Growth in mental abilities for a high and a low group of individuals. (After Freeman and Flory, 31.)

Flory's groups were classified upon the basis of original scores. This means that the high group of 12-year-olds had individuals in it who were advancing at a higher rate than usual along with individuals who were progressing normally. Similarly, the low group, no doubt, was composed of some individuals who had considerable potentiality but were at the low point in their growth curve as well as those who were potentially low in the type of intellectual traits measured.

Assuming that this is the explanation of the Freeman and Flory results, we are led to certain conclusions which have an important bearing on education at the adolescent level for such aptitudes or activities as are emerging at that age.

The problems may be simplified by considering the rates of growth-potential of the following groups of youth.

(*a*) Median or average rate throughout (most probable potential, average).

(*b*) Slow beginning but higher later (most probable potential, average).

(*c*) Slow beginning and slower later (most probable potential, below average).

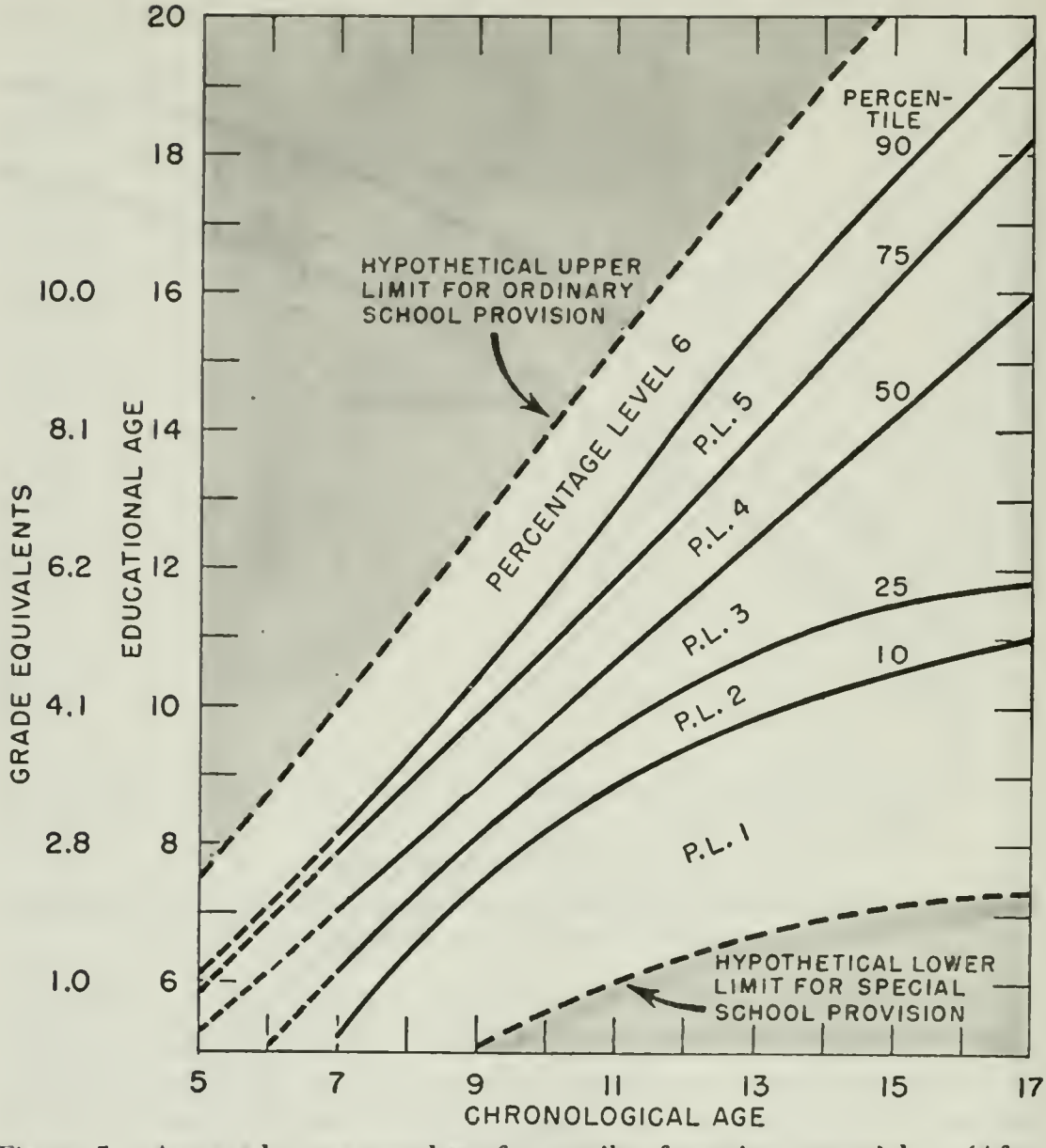

Figure 5.—Age-grade-progress chart for pupils of varying potentials. (After Cornell, 17.)

(*d*) High beginning but lower later (most probable potential, average).

(*e*) High beginning and higher later (most probable potential, above average).

Freeman and Flory's groups were most likely composed *largely* of (*b*) and (*d*). For two groups composed *entirely* of (*b*) and (*d*) the picture given in figure 6 would appear. In fact, any two groups of equal potentiality will give the same picture.

Bayley (7) arrived at somewhat the same generalization in going over the research on the growth of intelligence from birth to 18. She says:

> It is postulated that greatest homogeneity in scores occurs for a function when it is just starting to develop; that scores are most dispersed when that function is still growing rapidly but when those who are growing most rapidly in the function are not yet mature; and that as the slower-growing individuals reach maturity in the function, the difference again becomes somewhat restricted.

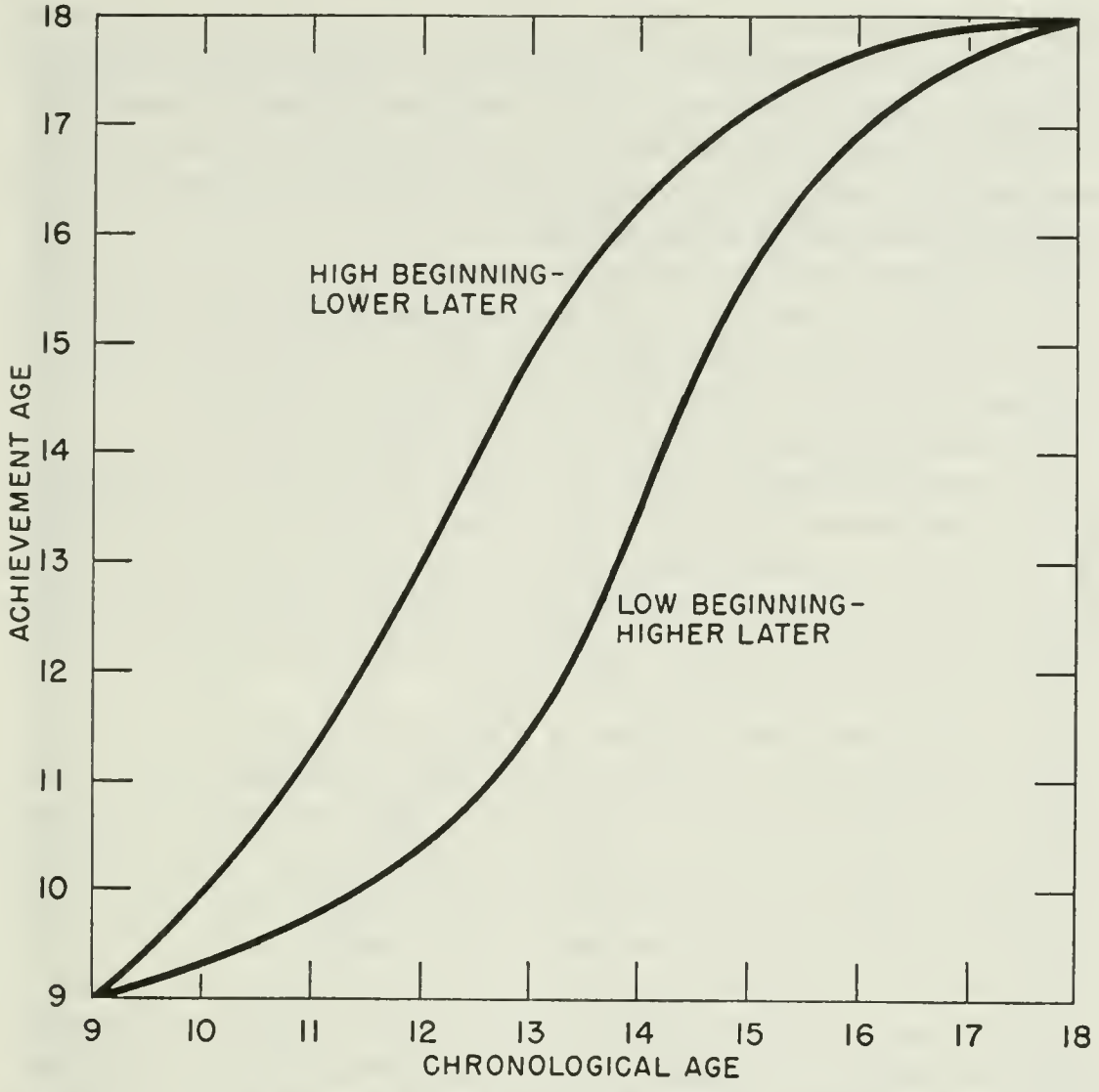

Figure 6.—Projected learning curves for two groups of pupils with same general overall potential.

This means that something of the longitudinal development of a pupil must be known if one is to aid him in choosing a curriculum and an occupation since his aptitude evidenced at any one time may be erroneous. It also points to the possibility of a longer educational life for many youth.

Principle 4. An individual from birth to maturity grows in ability to use higher levels of activity, which in the process of development become controlled and integrated

Emotional level of activity.—Except for tendencies to grow and certain immediate reactions through the autonomic nervous system, the child at birth is devoid of any type of ordered reaction to his environment. His ability to comprehend life is dependent upon his unfolding possibilities to acquire understanding and upon the environment which can give it. His senses

begin to operate and motor reactions are formed in response to the bombardment of the sense impressions. His emotional nature is closely bound up with these reactions—in fact at first his reactions are largely controlled by the emotional situation which is thrust upon him by his environment. To some extent, then, the infant being limited in ability to do much for himself motorwise, reacts emotionally to situations.

Sensory-motor level of activity.—As the baby develops he learns that his motor reactions to sensory stimuli sometimes satisfy his being, and thus there begins a gradual emancipation from emotional reaction to situations. This growth of the sensory motor behavior is thus very important.

The infant learns most quickly by being coddled—that is, his behavior is best advanced through satisfying his wants—food, dryness, and affection. However, the moment the child begins to react to satisfy himself—through the examination of various objects and exploration of them—he enters into the the realm of thinking creatures in which at least some control is exerted by the central nervous system in contrast to the dominance at birth of control by the autonomic nervous system.

The sensory-motor level of behavior is a thinking level and it is the first stage in human behavior which is preserved in part throughout life. The brief control by the autonomic system leaves no memory in the human being. It operates only by becoming an adjunct to the various levels described in this section. We cannot remember "emotions" in the sense that we can remember the physical things we handle or the ideas we have.

The sensory-motor level of activity is that in which the environment is explored to see what it will yield in the way of value to the child—largely at first on the basis of an urge for immediate satisfaction, but more and more as an exploratory process itself. This exploration continues for some time since it requires years for the senses rightly to delineate the nature of things. It is a kind of trial and error method using the sensory-motor arc. In other words, if the activity works it is a correct activity. The gradual emergence of the accuracy of the sensory understanding and then a more accurate appraisal of life is a dramatic one. At first the environment is diffuse and hard to analyze into components. It is believed that the very diffuse drawings of children, for example, result from their seeing the situation in a diffuse manner rather than simply from an undeveloped ability to draw. Differences between inanimate objects and plants and animals are not distinguished well. If a child catches his stocking in a chair, he may say that the chair bit him or that it was misbehaving. According to Buhler (10) this tendency of children to attribute animal behavior to inanimate objects declines from 62 percent of 1½- to 2½-year-olds to 14 percent of 4- to 4½-year-olds. Markey (49) found that at 3 to 5 years of age children cease the practice of attributing human characteristics to inanimate objects

and turn to make-believe situations in which the inanimate objects themselves are not used.

The vocabulary of children shows the diffuseness of sensory concepts at early levels, many unrelated objects which to the child have some characteristic in common being grouped together so that one word suffices as the name for each (80). Various sensory phenomena are not clearly differentiated in the early years, sounds frequently being described in visual terms and things seen being described as sound.

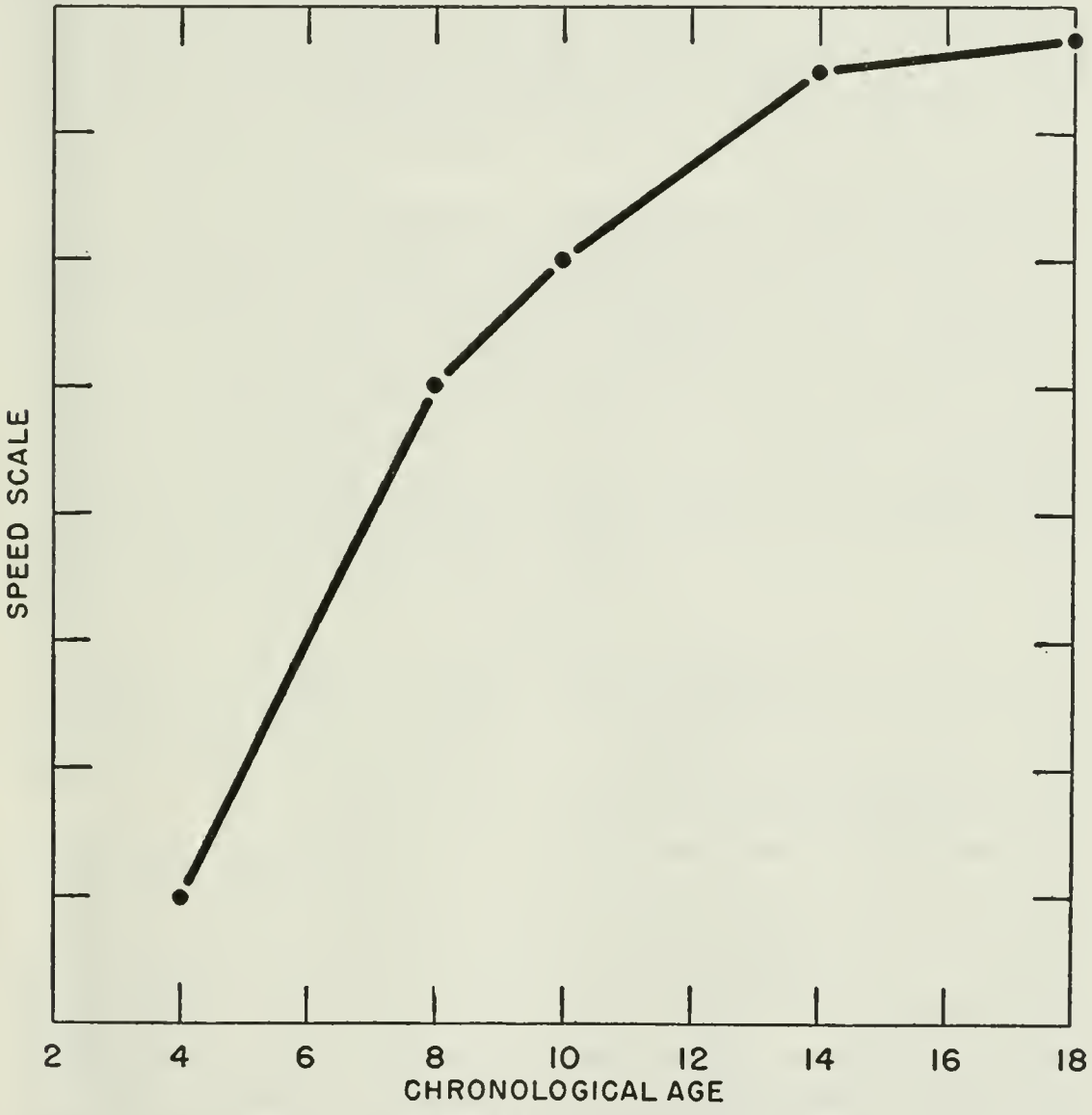

Figure 7.—Relation between age and speed in choosing blocks to complete a pattern. (Adapted from Heiss, 41.)

The selection of pertinent parts of the sensory field increases tremendously with experience and growth. Heiss (35) showed this through an experiment with various age groups tested for speed in picking out a pertinent block to complete a pattern. The results are given in figure 7.

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The growth in accurately judging the environment through the senses is shown through the types of imagery. It is probable, although evidence is not direct on the point, that early in life the child makes no differentiation between an image which is a fleeting remembrance of a sensation and images which are actual perception. Experience tends to show which images are outside the self and which are inside. In children there is thought to be an actual intermediate stage between perception of the thing and the free memory image in all the sensory fields. In the field of vision this intermediate stage has been called by Jaensch (38) *the eidetic image.* Experiment has shown that it is not only a more vivid memory image, but it is the bringing into focus the identical image that was perceived several hours or days previously. This ability decreases rapidly with age, but it is estimated that somewhere from 10 to possibly 60 percent of all children have had *eidetic images.*

In general, children of lower ages do not judge sensations too accurately; nor do they always distinguish them from their own previous sensations (or images). From a consideration of the evidence, it seems clear that this is a difficult period when children must rely and think through the sensory-motor arc in order to arrive at behavior which they have found satisfactory. In some ways this produces a rigid and noneconomic behavior in the solution of problems. Children, having learned one way to do something or one way to say something, make this the only way of doing or saying it, and this way becomes a rule for them. Deviations are really deviations from the solution to the problem, since for them the solution lies in the motor pathways established. That the sensory-motor reaction becomes dominant may be explained through the fact that it is the simplest method by which the individual can learn and is the method through which the concepts are acquired which later take over learning. In any case, the fact that children do learn through this motor-sensory level seems to fit the known evidence.

Concrete and abstract levels of activity.—The levels of psychosocial activity above the sensory-motor level are less easy to differentiate. There are so many ways of reacting to situations that a detailed array of levels is difficult to make. The classification chosen for use here seems a reasonable one and is broad enough to allow other more detailed classifications to be added if that seems desirable, without disturbing the basic principles described in this bulletin. This classification is the division of all activities above the sensory-motor activities into those which are of a *concrete* nature and those which are *abstract.*

The concrete level of activity may be defined as that which involves activity with concrete material or the use of concrete materials as concepts in thinking. At the concrete level, generalizations (i. e. thinking), occur but they are arrived at by an additive process rather than through the abstraction of a quality. When a child observes that this is a horse, that these others are

horses, he reasons that another like object (another horse) is also a horse. Reasoning at the concrete level is as effective with some types of problems as reasoning on the abstract level.

The other and higher level of activity in the hierarchy is designated as the abstract psychosocial activity level because of the fact that activities at this level are carried on through a mental process apart from the objects themselves observed through the senses or through remembered images. This level may be characterized by such activities as interpretation of data presented, inductive or deductive reasoning, problem-solving, or abstract thinking. None of these activities, of course, takes place in a vacuum; they all use material. The materials may be either other concepts formed through activity on the abstract level or the materials may be knowledge from other (lower) levels of activity.

This brings us to the presentation of two important points regarding these activity levels. One is that there is a growth in childhood and youth from one level to the other, and the other is that any individual does not always use the highest level of which he is capable, but combines different levels to solve a problem, or he may use any single level of activity. Some evidence on these points will be cited.

A definite shift through the ages 3 to 8 from a sensory-motor classification to activity on the concrete level was found by Usnadze (79) and Werner (80) (81). Usnadze's results are given in Table I.

TABLE I

Concrete classification, by age group

[Adapted from Usnadze (79)]

Classification	Percent, by age				
	3–4	4–5	5–6	6–7	7–8
Step I. Color	78	33	8	17	0
Step II. Shape	22	25	34	30	36
Step III. Size	0	42	42	53	45
Step IV. By two or more at the same time	0	0	[1] 16	0	[1] 19
Total	100	100	100	100	100

[1] Reached only with aid of examiner.

Deutsche (20), in studying the development of children's concepts of causal relations, included all children in certain schools and gathered sufficient data to report for ages 8–17. She classified the types of reasoning used by children in explaining the occurrence of certain physical phenomena. The great majority of the answers fell into the following three groups:

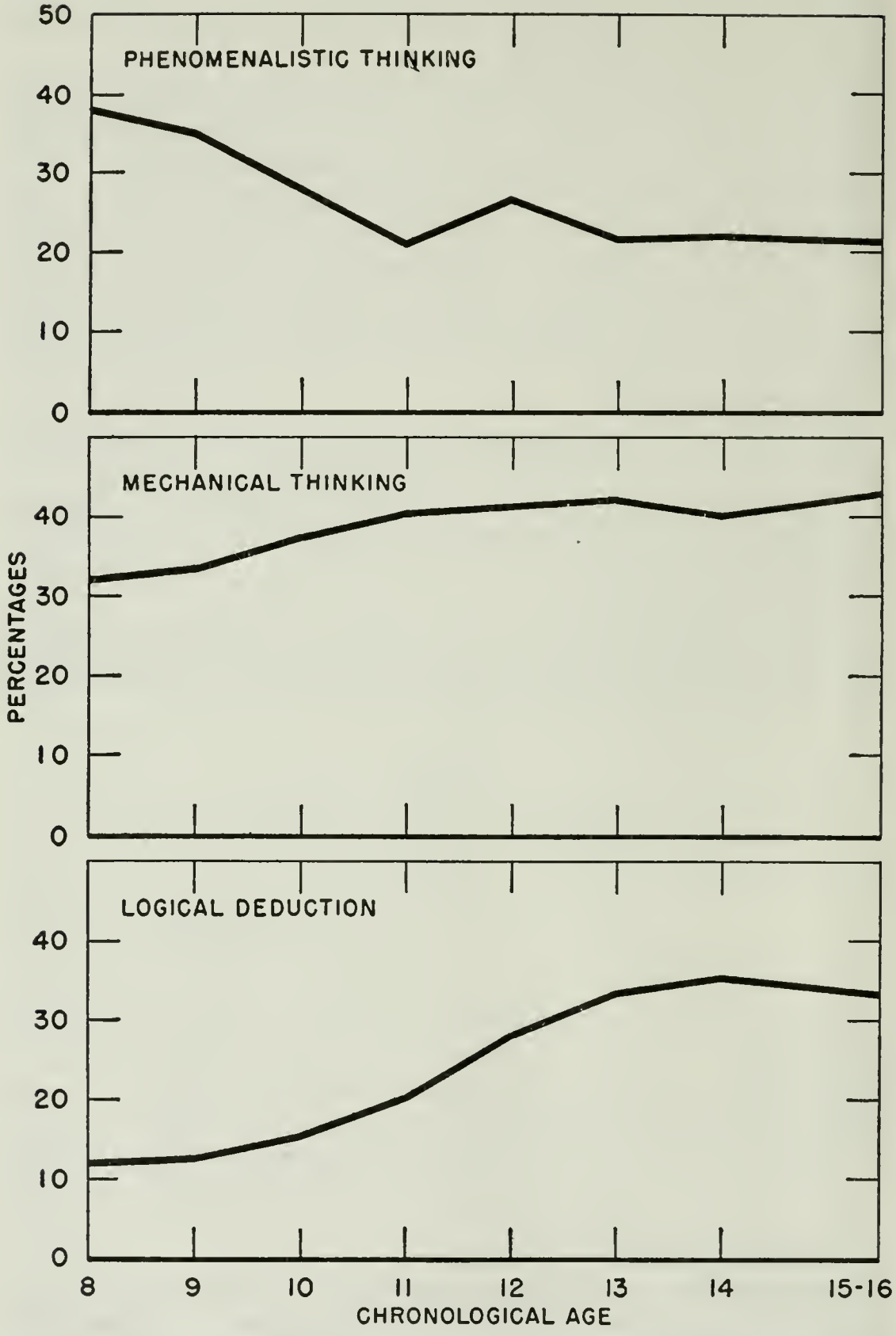


Figure 8.—Percentages, by type of causal relationship, of responses given by children of different ages. (Adapted from Deutsche, 20.)

Phenomenalistic, mechanical, and logical deduction. Figure 8 shows the results in percentage for the various ages 8 to 15–16. These three classifications correspond roughly to the three levels chosen in this bulletin: sensory-motor, concrete, and abstract. The figure shows that phenomenalistic thinking declines rapidly and that logical deduction increases rapidly during these years. Mechanical explanation remains at a fairly high level throughout.

Feifel and Lorge (25) who investigated the ways in which children between the ages of 6 and 14 define words, found a steady increase with age in the practice of defining a word through using terms or explanations which classify the word correctly, and a decrease in the practice of defining words by giving their use, such as "a spoon is used in eating."

Accepting the law of parsimony we could say that an individual will tend to use the lowest type of activity necessary to solve his problem. Apart from the fact that some persons either by habit or because of differing maturity levels may tend to use a higher level than necessary to solve a problem, it seems probable that the law (of parsimony) would operate. Some evidence to this effect is reported by Tyler (78) who found with college classes that the correlation between the memorization of facts and the ability to apply principles was quite low. In other words, there was a diversity of levels of thinking activity by the students taking these courses. Some were attempting (and probably succeeding) through sheer memory to pass the course; others were doing considerable high level abstract thinking.

The level of activity which individuals customarily use in solving a problem is related to the level at which society as a whole solves its problems. It is important, therefore, for individuals to solve problems at appropriate levels so that society's problems will receive the highest level of consideration consistent with the problem concerned. From one viewpoint this also means that whatever level operates in a situation has control. It is poor policy for an individual, as well as for society, to have thinking, and consequently action, controlled by inadequate activity levels. It is important for the school, therefore, to see that levels of activities used are appropriate to various types of problems which arise. The maturing process tends to lodge control in higher and higher levels. The age of appropriate modal development of various levels of activities is given as follows:

Level of activity	*Age of modal development*
Abstract	12–18
Concrete	5–12
Sensori-motor	1– 5
Emotional	0– 1

Figure 9 is a schematic representation of the tendencies of growth and control, by level of activity.

Principle 5. Activities are differentiated into types

One of the best examples of differentiation in activities is the difference between the ability to learn mathematics and the ability to get along with people. Abstract intelligence—the highest level of behavior—is involved in both activities. It is believed that as youth grows older the differences among these various activities tend to increase in significance. The writer

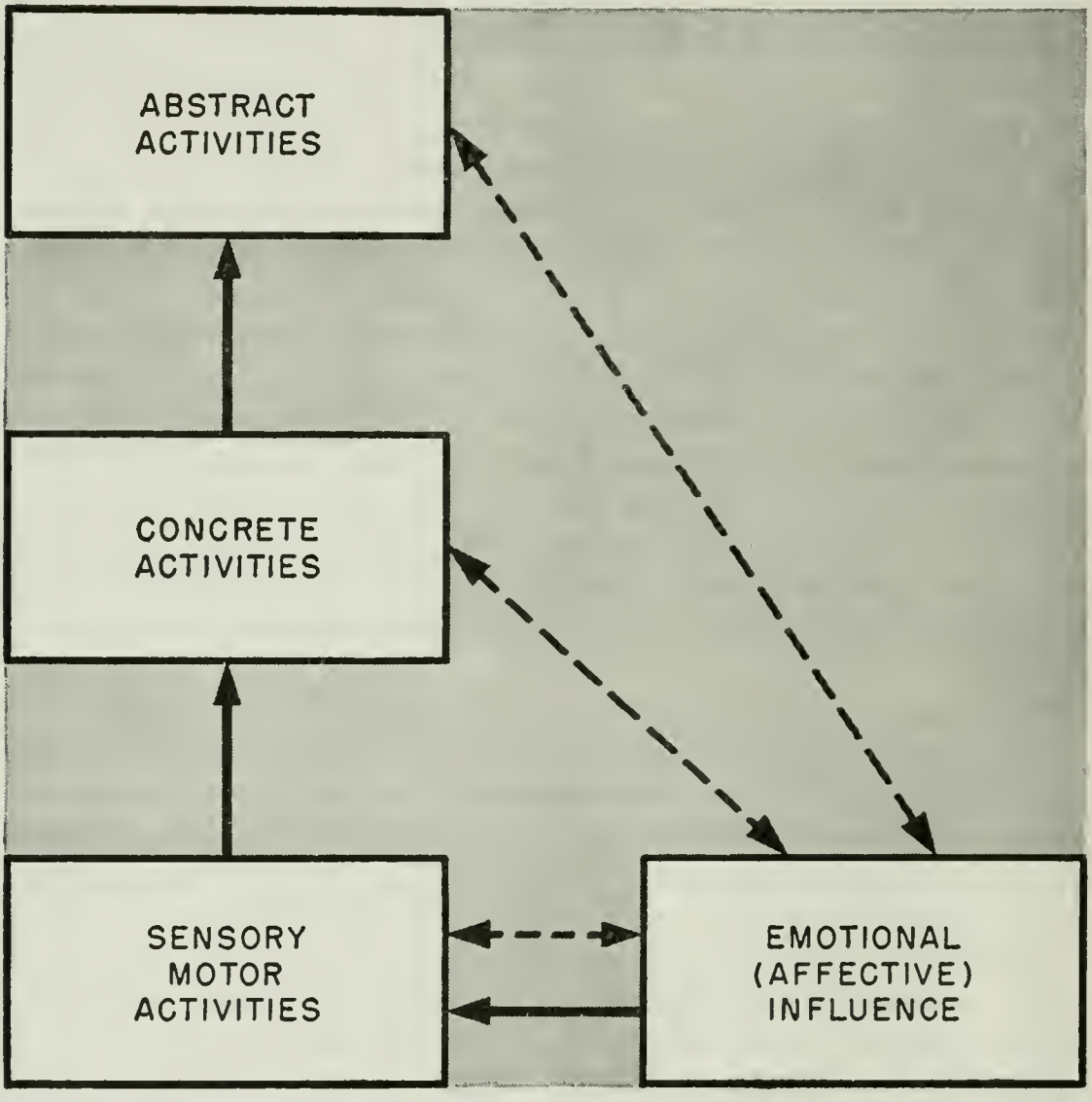


Figure 9.—Schematic representation of tendencies of growth and control by levels of activities.

has developed this point for "intellectual traits" in a separate publication—*Intellectual Abilities in the Adolescent Period* (62) which should be used as a part of this total presentation of psychosocial development. Such research as has been carried on in other areas shows that differentiation of all types of psychosocial activity may be considered to be fairly well established. The differentiation in activities and when and how it should be recognized in the maturing child is a significant problem for education.

Section II

The Motivation Principle in Psychosocial Development

The individual is motivated to act by the need to enhance himself, and the action is determined by both the self and the environment [1]

Need satisfaction is generally recognized as the motivating force for behavior. Many lists of needs have been compiled. The objective psychologist explains needs as growing out of physiological tensions. The phenomenalistic psychologist recognizes needs—Psychosocial needs—which are independent of physiological tensions. Among such needs commonly mentioned are security, social recognition, new experience, and affection. Syngg and Combs (68) in their phenomenalist approach to the study of the individual postulate one basic need: the preservation and enhancement of the phenomenal self. All other needs, they maintain, are either goals for achieving self-enhancement or techniques for arriving at the goals.

In order to understand the principle, an explanation of the relationship between (1) the self with his psychosocial needs or goals and (2) his environment is essential. The explanation introduces certain new terms and concepts as set forth by Snygg and Combs.

The field or area in which needs are satisfied is called the *phenomenal field.* It is defined as "the entire universe, including himself, as it is experienced by the individual at the instant of action." It is the everyday situation of self and surroundings which each person takes to be reality. One individual's field as seen by an observer may include many errors and illusions, but to the individual himself his own phenomenal field represents reality. Any act that he performs must be done in relation to this reality. He cannot act otherwise.

[1] The development of this principle is based on the work of Snygg and Combs (68) who have in their *Individual Behavior* attempted a synthesis of the views of many psychologists.

An individual cannot be conscious of all aspects of the field at one and the same time. Part of the field stands out as figure, the remainder becomes ground. When an individual is confronted by a situation, he calls from the field that to which he needs to relate the situation or activity. At any given time the field of the individual is organized with reference to the activity by which he is trying to satisfy his needs at the time. The phenomenal field is subject to constant change. New experiences are added to the already existing field. However, the phenomenal field tends to maintain its organization. If the situation or activity is one which would involve a basic reorganization of his field, the individual distorts or modifies it, and sometimes completely rejects it.

The phenomenal field of any individual is the product of selection. Selection is not accidental or capricious; it is made in the interest of satisfying his needs. Through a process of analysis the individual in a gross situation brings into focus or figure those elements from the field which his recognition of need requires. The possibilities of analysis for an individual at any given time depend upon the individual's past experience and the analyses he has previously made. If a child is called upon to perform a task for which his past experience have inadequately prepared him, he becomes discouraged and frustrated.

The *phenomenal self* as used here must not be confused with the physical self. It includes not only the physical self but all the meanings which the individual has attached to the word "I"—the ideas he has of himself, the things he believes he stands for, the kind of a person he thinks he is. The defense of this self is the most important aspect of living, if not the only task of existence. When an individual's every act is seen as a part of his attempt to fortify his concept of himself, his activities become meaningful. The preservation of the physical self itself is simply the means to the pursuit of the real goal, which is preserving the phenomenal self.

In the early years of his life the child singles out certain objects, attitudes, and feelings which become goals, the achievement of which satisfies his basic need to preserve and enhance his phenomenal self. These goals tend to persist as a part of the psychosocial organization of that individual. Techniques or methods of reaching the goals also become understood by the individual and are part of the individual's pattern for need satisfaction and an integral part of the organization of his self. Some goals and techniques are seen to fulfill the individual's needs more than others. Those most highly prized are the ones which tend to persist.

Dependent upon the circumstances of his growth and the intensity and satisfaction of his experiences, the individual's self becomes more or less permanently fixed. This is due partly to inertia, or the tendency to resist disruption, and partly to the fact that when the self becomes crystallized the individual can see himself only in terms of that self and is unable to

make selections that are not in accord with his self-concept. This is not to say that the self does not change. Although the self tends to resist change, changes do occur all through life as the individual senses the reactions of others to him and is able to see himself as others see him.

The attitudes and feelings about himself which the young child builds into his phenomenal self are largely the reflection of the attitudes of those about him. If he grows up in an environment which is doubtful of his ability to achieve, if he feels rejected and unwanted by his parents, if he is led to feel that he is personally unattractive, he cannot build attitudes of confidence about himself. On the other hand, the child who is definitely wanted and loved and toward whom there is positive treatment on the part of those in his immediate environment will be able to face the world with a belief in himself and in his worth, which may perhaps always be impossible to the rejected youngster.

Whether or not an individual is able to satisfy his basic need at any given time depends upon whether or not he has been able to single out the adequate techniques for reaching his goal. Those individuals whose perceptions make possible the satisfaction of need are happy and effective people; those whose perceptions of adequate techniques are at a low level of consciousness are unhappy, ineffective, and frustrated people. Several factors which limit analysis by the individual have been pointed out by Snygg and Combs (68) (14). These are:

(1) Physical handicaps or defects.
(2) Insufficient time to make differentiations or adequate preceptions.
(3) Handicaps imposed by the environment in the form of opportunities to learn.
(4) Low-order differentiations holding over from childhood—the type that are often brought out in psychoanalysis.
(5) Suppression of differentiations[2] or refusal of the individual to accept a differentiation or to bring it into clear figure.
(6) "Tunnel vision" or narrowing of the field through extreme preoccupation with a particular goal or problem so that only a limited amount of the field is available for differentiation.

By goals are meant those objects or feelings which through the course of the years the individual has singled out as bringing satisfactions to him. Goals will not be identical for any two individuals, since the circumstances surrounding growth are not identical. Goals tend to persist as a part of the individual's phenomenal field, as do the techniques by which he attempts to achieve those goals. Techniques, too, are chosen because they contribute to the basic need. As techniques are differentiated they may become characteristic ways of behaving for the individual, especially when they contribute to his concept of himself. He may thus use one technique for striving for a number of different goals. Conversely, he may use several techniques for

[2] Snygg *and* Combs use the word differentiation in the way the writer would use analysis.

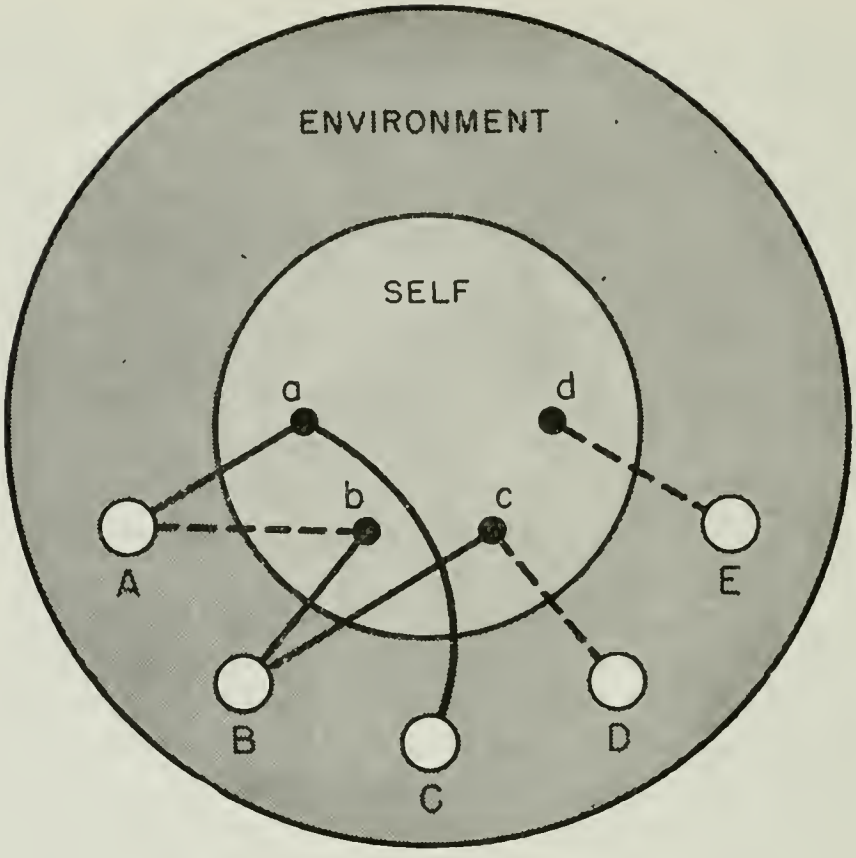


Figure 10.—Relationship among goals, procedures, the self, and the environment.

arriving at a single goal. (See fig. 10.) If the techniques employed by the individual are adequate, they lead to goal achievement and self-enhancement; if they are inadequate, the goal is not achieved and the individual experiences frustration.

Section III

Influence of the Emotions on Psychosocial Development

Individuals are active in many different lines of endeavor. They make decisions on various problems; they carry on activities at the different levels—from the sensory-motor to the abstract level. Whether they have to do with mechanics, social matters, or abstract mathematics, the activities are all more or less subject to the same general type of cerebral process. What then of the relation of emotion, or the effective side of an individual, to these activities and to the principle of self-enhancement?

The best psychosocial development takes place when there is an appropriate balance between the affective side of the individual and his activities. A mild good feeling seems to be the optimum value to accompany satisfying activities. It provides adequate but not an extreme drive for the individual to attain his goal.[1] The cause of his feeling satisfied must lie in the fact that his activities, which he is carrying on through the central nervous system, are satisfactory. In other words, his satisfaction does not come from his having a good feeling tone but from his activities; it is his activities which cause his tone of good feeling.

[1] The relations between strong emotional reactions, such as love and anger, and the milder positive or negative affective phase of life are not too well known. Many psychologists make a considerable distinction. It is true that one can see the differences in the behavior of human beings under differing degrees of emotional tensions, but no clear-cut distinction seems to be available. Thorpe (73) who makes a distinct differentiation, says that "Feelings of well-being, sometimes called mild emotions, are conducive to morale and may be thought of as providing zest and 'color' to experience. Feelings are not, however, by definition true emotions (highly stirred-up organic states) . . . emotions are too high on the scale of intensity to avoid a shattering of efficiency." Other psychologists indicate that the differences lie mainly in the psychological concomitants of strong emotions. The latter view seems to be more compatible with our present knowledge of the field.

When his activities are unsatisfactory to himself—i. e., are not self-enhancing, his emotional balance may be affected. Snygg and Combs (68) have classified the striving for self-esteem in the following three major categories:

1. By mastery over people or things.
2. By identification with a powerful individual or membership in a potent group.
3. Through bringing about some physical change in the body organization.

In the case of the first two activities, the goal can be clearly seen to be the relationship of the individual to other people or things. To be self-enhancing, there must be positive feelings, however mild, associated with the selection of the goal, with the procedure for attaining the goal, and with the attainment of the goal itself. It is this balance of the affective forces in the individual with these activities which brings about an efficient individual at least from the individual's own standpoint.

It is only in regard to the last category that tensions in the individual tend to be in themselves self-enhancing. Let us quote Snygg and Combs:

> A third major group of techniques seems to be that in which the individual seeks some form of bodily change which contributes to redefining his phenomenal self in a more favorable or less humiliating light. Often the excitement attendant upon thrills results in increased body tonus which is exhilarating to the individual and is likely to give a feeling of increased power and effectiveness. Such boosts to the self-esteem are often consciously sought and sometimes paid for in amusement parks, and the like. Indeed, in some people this feeling becomes almost a goal in life and much of their time is spent in a search for thrills. Gambling is a familiar example of this sort of device. In the excitement and anticipation of winning or losing, the gambler is able for the moment to forget his feelings of inadequacy and incompetence and get a feeling of power. Lotteries and policy games are most popular in the poorest sections of cities apparently because to many people they furnish the only hope of achieving property or power. Economically they cannot afford to gamble, but psychologically they cannot afford not to gamble.

The writer believes that this latter type of behavior is a result of frustration, and that indulgence in it does bring some relief to the individual. Frustration behavior is dwelt on at length in later sections. Emotional mechanisms come into play in the first two categories of activities given by Syngg and Combs whenever some sort of block is encountered. This blocking of the self-enhancement of the individual and his use of "escape mechanism" is thought by the writer to be the secret (psychologically speaking) of the maladjustment of youth. These mechanisms are described in greater detail in the next section. The emotional balance which goes with an activity and the activity itself are the all-out important aspects of adjustment.

Suppression of emotional behavior is one of the many conditions which can cause frustration. Escalona (24) and Stanley (69) have brought out the need for emotional growth to develop from the early years. Insofar as

this emotional development is satisfied. the organism is prepared for a more normal life. Stanley says:

> By means of crying. the young infant is fast able to act upon his environment to secure the alleviation of hunger and other discomforts. If assistance comes promptly, he soon learns that help can be obtained easily and certainly. If caprice. rather than regularity characterizes the mother's response. the infant has no such assurance and feels insecure. This insecurity may later result in anxiety. . . .

Thorpe (73) says:

> The statement is often made that modern society does not make sufficient provision for either the expression or the sublimation of strong emotions. It is also said that since individual physical struggle is not the usual mode of adjustment in modern civilization. emotional responses represent a menace rather than a benefit to man. So far as the rearing of children is concerned. it is probably logical to conclude that. instead of emphasizing either the expression or the repression of emotions. parents and others might well provide the types of experience that enable children to satisfy their organic and psychological needs and thus avoid. in the main. the repercussions of emotional upheavals. Well-balanced. emotionally stable children and youths who have developed wholesome attitudes toward the necessary sanctions of their social group. experience relatively little difficulty about emotional control. Such emotional upheavals (crying. slang expressions. swearing. etc.) as they do encounter are usually of a mild and temporary nature and are characteristically controlled in harmony with their stable outlook.

Robbins (57) has made the generalization from his studies of the quality of individual attitudes that individuals see things more objectively as they are tied less and less to affective values. The more objective an individual becomes. the more he can accept a self-enhancement based on activities which are tied less and less to the immediate affective values.

The same individual. depending on circumstances. may be characterized by different levels of development. His activity is not the same when he is considerably distracted as when he is concentrating on a mental problem. His affective component will vary considerably as he shifts from some scientific work to that of dealing with concrete materials or with other individuals. As Werner (80) (81) has pointed out so clearly. activity at a higher strata may easily be changed to an activity at a lower strata: that is. there exists within the same human being the potentialities of acting in a "cultured" or "civilized" manner or as a "primitive" person.

Section IV

Frustration

General considerations

In this section will be presented an explanation of the greatest threat to the operation of the principles of psychosocial growth and development outlined in Section II. This threat is called "frustration." [1]

We begin with the concept that all psychosocial activity or behavior of the individual is the result of making choices. This matter of making choices can be seen most easily in what might be called "problem situations." By a "problem situation" in its simplest form is meant that a goal acceptable to the individual is presented and he attempts to find a method of action, (i. e., making choice) which will enable him to reach his objective. As pointed out, this goal must be one which enhances the individual. If he finds a solution well and good. Insofar as he cannot find a way to achieve the goal he is frustrated.

The individual who is frustrated tends to act in a different manner from what he does in a nonfrustrating situation. This is an important point. He reacts in a way which is detrimental to himself and often to those about him. Furthermore, the type of reaction which takes place in one frustrating situation not only tends to appear every time that situation is presented, but also tends to spread to other situations, so that the individual reacts to other (more normal) situations through a frustrated type of behavior. This tends eventually to become a pattern and the individual is then said to have a *neurosis*.

A theory of adjustment prevalent at this time is that individuals are what their environment makes them—that delinquents are delinquents because

[1] The author is indebted to Maier's (48) analysis of frustration for many of the concepts in this section.

society makes them delinquent. The error in this concept can be seen by the fact that individuals can rise above (or sink below) their environment. This has been demonstrated again and again.[2] What is not taken into account is that the behavior of an individual is conditioned not by the environment alone, but by the ways the individual looks at that environment. Each individual is different in his understanding of the environment and the enhancement he receives from it. One individual may bring into focus one part of the environment and neglect another part entirely, leaving it as a background factor not considered. Another individual because his self is different may react in exactly the opposite manner. Through this process, each individual reacts differently to the same environment. Actually, the environment also differs, at least to a slight degree, for all persons. Thus some individuals will be frustrated and others will not be under the same general environment.

There are two important differences between nonfrustrated and frustrated behavior. In the first place, nonfrustrated behavior is that which is carried on in a self-enhancing way; frustrated behavior, on the other hand, does not in itself contribute to self-enhancement. The other important point is that behavior, when frustrated, become nonmotivated behavior. It is not directed toward a goal. Frustrated behavior is *terminal* behavior and not a means to an end. It is the reaction to a problem wherein the individual cannot see a choice by which he can attain his goal, at least through a method tolerated by the group he is in.

This difference between goal-oriented behavior and frustrated behavior points up a very important problem for education. The better the individual can see possibilities for action, the greater the possibility of solving the problem without developing frustrated behavior. It is through perceiving the clarity of a situation that action toward a goal can take place. In any one person, his behavior may on one subject be motivated behavior, while on another, it may be frustrated behavior, or it may fluctuate on the same problem.

Action patterns of individuals exhibiting frustrated behavior differ greatly. Three main types, however, are recognizable.

Types of reaction to frustration

Aggression.—The aggressive type of frustrated behavior is described as an active attack by the individual, either physically or verbally, upon a situation. Aggression occurs when the tension has risen to such a degree that the

[2] This concept arose partly out of studies which show a substantial relationship between various social factors and the intelligence and attainment in school and personality traits of an individual and partly as a reaction against blaming individuals for their departure from the norms set by society for behavior.

emotional nature largely takes over the action. It must of necessity, therefore, be poorly directed action, since the higher mental faculties are not in control of the situation. Physical action as a part of aggressive behavior is more prominent with children, no doubt because of their more frequent use of the motor activities.

Aggressive behavior is a result of frustration and is not behavior directed toward the goal. It differs from motivated behavior, as does all frustrated behavior, in that the behavior does not tend to solve the problem. Since the process of aggression is active, it is possible that some progress toward the goal is attained and in some cases the goal itself is attained. If that does happen, however, it is accidental. Even those who have investigated aggression, such as Dollard, et al. (22), and lean toward the theory that frustrated behavior is goal seeking, recognize that the aggressive attack is not necessarily directed toward a solution of the problem. The main point is that the goals of the individual are not the directing force behind the behavior.

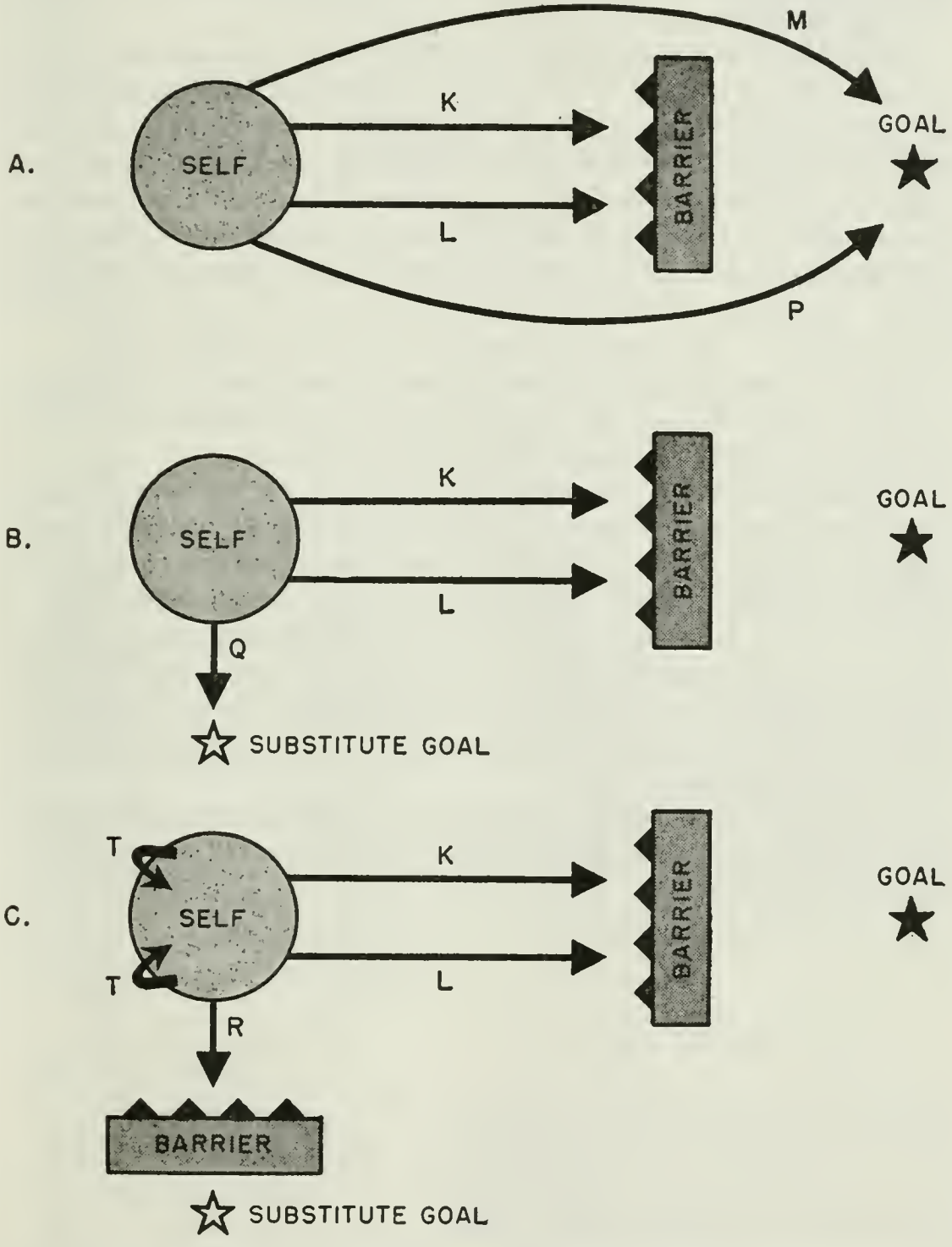
Aggression does have one positive value in that it does relieve tension in the individual. If aggression can be channeled to spend itself without evoking deleterious reactions in others, its total effect is on the positive side. The action does not solve the problem, but gives temporary relief from tension and gives time for a more adequate examination of the situation.

Regression.—Regression, another type of action in response to frustration, essentially means a withdrawal from the activity being carried on or the attempt to solve a problem at a lower level of activity. In one sense, it is a withdrawal from reality, since the activity arising is not on the level called for by the problem. The reaction has no goal and is thus unmotivated behavior. It has less chance of hitting the goal than has aggressive behavior, since its activities are not at the level at which the activity is carried on for a solution of the problem. It is a negative way of meeting a situation and depresses the individual in emotional tone. It does, to some extent, act as a relief to the individual but not to the extent that the increased activity does in the case of aggression.

There are two important features distinguishing the aggressive and the regressive types of reaction to frustration. One is in the activity—aggression involves activity, heightened activity, whereas regression is accompanied by lowered activity. The other is that in aggression the emotional tone is heightened and excitement occurs, whereas in regression such activity as takes place is on a lower level and the emotional tone is lowered.

Fixation.—Fixated behavior is response to frustration in the form of stereotyped behavior or actions repeated over and over without variation. The behavior may have represented a solution, or a partial solution, at some time in the past. The choice of the action at a time of frustration involves the choice of repeating an activity which has already been found

to be ineffective. This reaction to frustration affords some relief, as do the other two types of frustration discussed above, but it also is not goal motivated. From the affective standpoint, it represents a reaction at the same level but without the excitement associated with aggression; still it is not problem-solving because the activity is stereotyped.



NOTE: K,L,M,P,Q,R,T = VARIOUS PROCEDURES FOR ATTAINING THE GOAL

Figure 11.—Schematic representation of the difference between the formation of goal-motivated behavior and the formation of frustration.

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These three types of reaction to frustration seem to cover adequately the reaction of individuals to frustration. Maier (48) has postulated another classification called *resignation* to describe a state of almost total inaction involving a partial acceptance of the situation. It seems to the writer that this, rather than representing a new or different type of reaction to frustration, is another type of fixation or is one of the products of a series of frustrations over a period of time.

Figure 11 illustrates schematically the difference between the action which achieves the goal and that which results in frustration which leads into non-motivated behavior. In goal-motivated behavior the solution may come about in two ways. Part A shows that in seeking a goal, several procedures, K, L, M, or P, may be used and one or more of them may be appropriate. Part B shows the situation in which procedures tried result in failure and a substitute goal is accepted. Part C indicates behavior which does not result in goal satisfaction; neither the original goal nor any acceptable substitute goal is attained. This results in frustration, or turmoil within the self.

Anxiety.—Besides frustration and its extreme development, which might be called a neurosis, one other type of behavior should be mentioned. This is *anxiety*. Anxiety is characterized by tension and worry.

An analysis of anxiety cases indicate that it is either a manifestation which results from alternating states of frustration behavior and motivated normal behavior, or that it is more probably a general name for all types of frustrated behavior described above. Therefore, no special consideration need be given to it since it indicates the presence of frustration and may be treated through treatment of the frustration. Except for psychotic behavior, which is rare in the early years, it is believed that the behavior encompassed by the term frustration can be used to explain all behavior which does not respond to the laws of motivation.

Many psychologists attempt to describe poorly adjusted behavior in other terms, but the explanation of such behavior on the basis of frustration seems to be the most useful one.

Section V

Evidence on the Development of Frustration in the Early Years

There are two general types of evidence bearing on the problem of frustration as postulated in the previous section. One type of evidence shows a direct relationship between frustrating environmental situations and the kinds of frustration reactions which result. The other type of evidence is found in the vast literature describing children and youth. It is more indirect, but what the evidence lacks in preciseness it makes up to some extent in its bulk. In this section will be presented the more direct evidence on the development and classification of resulting forms of frustrated behavior.

Baldwin, Kelhorn, and Breese (3) investigated the relationship between parental attitude toward children of preschool and first-grade status and the behavior of the children. Their results show the amount of consideration given to the child in his early years has a definite bearing on whether or not he will be frustrated. The type of psychological atmosphere of the home seemed to have more to do with frustration than the physical environment at this level. The main classifications of behavior of parents toward their child and the general resulting behavior of the child, frustrated or otherwise, which they found are as follows:

Parental Behavior	*Child Behavior*
1. *Rejection of children*	
a. Passive or ignoring	A desperate seeking for affection and attention. Expression in near social or near delinquency type of behavior.
b. Active or repressing	Withdrawn, shy and stubbornly resistant in situations demanding response. Retreats into self.
2. *Casual autocracy*	
a. Casual autocracy (as a policy).	Rebellious, earning a certain grudging respect. Sometimes anxious compliance.

b. Casual autocracy (as an expediency).	Rebellious, almost uncontrollable at times. Insistent in wanting to command a situation.
c. Casual indulgence	Develops conflicts, shy outside the home situation—aggressive through refusing contacts with others.
3. *Acceptant*	
a. Indulgent	Learns to fool parents and get his own way by wheedling actions. Tends toward emotionality.
b. Pseudo-democratic	Tends to develop intellectual abilities. Aloofness developed. Unpopular with other children.
c. Scientifically democratic	Learns a lot, open to new ideas, tends to reason, but does not understand other children too well.
d. Warmly democratic	All-round development of child.

Macfarlane (47) presents evidence to show that the type of home has much to do with the general adjustment of the preschool child. She states that "when the home was psychologically unfavorable in only one or two respects, the youngster could usually run his course without much disturbance, provided the parents were themselves secure enough to give the child adequate security and affection. But in homes with a large number of unfavorable aspects, the youngster was likely to give indications of being disturbed in his emotional development and habits. Affection and security between and from the parents was found to be a major need for the children."

It would seem probable that the greater the number of areas of frustration, the less the opportunity is there for the individual to develop. Indirect evidence on this point is seen in the vast interrelationship between various factors of adjustment and of the environment. The most direct evidence is that of Baldwin, et al. (3), and Champney (12). Both of these studies found that children developing without frustration made larger gains in scores on general mental ability tests than those who were being frustrated. Baldwin, et al., found the gains shown in Table II for groups of children classified by type of treatment.

The Baldwin, et al., study contributes evidence to explain how frustration operates. Apparently an imbalance is created when the emotional control takes over an activity. A part of their conclusion was, "The general picture is one of high emotionality and slow emotional control for the actively rejectant group and a mild placidity for the democratic groups."

Repressive rejectance tends to produce a continual frustration causing temper tantrums and other evidences of emotionality. On the other hand, the impersonal treatment by the democratic parents tends to produce a sort of serenity in the child. There may be genetic factors involved also, in that democratic handling implies a sort of serenity in the parents which may be inherited by the children.

Gilliland (32) in studying the environmental influences of scores on the Northwestern Infant Intelligence Test found that at the early ages (*a*) in biologically healthy infants, socio-economic status of parents has little or

no influence on test scores; and (*b*) infants with variable social stimulation have higher scores than infants without social contact. He found that a wholesome and stimulating psychological and social environment starting at birth is essential to good mental development in children. In the first years of life, the stimulation afforded by a small number of persons was important—the larger environment was not. Studies of children in foster homes, in institutions, and in their own homes as illustrated by Feinberg's (26) investigation, show results consistent with those of Gilliland.

TABLE II

I. Q. gains of children, by type of parental behavior

[From Baldwin, et al. (3)]

	Change in I. Q.
REJECTANT:	
Nonchalant	.9
Active	.3
CASUAL:	
Autocratic	1.9
Indulgent	4.4
ACCEPTANT:	
Democratic	7.1
Indulgent	.5
Democratic indulgent	8.6

Kehm (41) has made a recent summary of investigations of the relationship of parents' attitudes toward their children and the resulting influences on children's personalities. Other detailed and important studies concerning the relationship between parents and children are those of Levy (43), Baruch (6), and Champney (12). Anderson's studies (1), (2), are indicative of the importance of the teachers' activities and attitudes in causing differing types of psychosocial reactions in children. Other important studies of the causes of changes in children's psychosocial development are those of Barker, Demko, and Lewin (5), Lippett (46), and Lewin, Lippett, and White (44). The studies of Mechem (50) on younger children and Shimberg (64) at the high-school level both show that achievement or growth was slowed down when the emotional elements became more pronounced.

Three generalizations may be drawn from the data on these various studies. (1) Non-democratic social climate tends to produce frustration in children. In such a climate, the child has little opportunity to do things which enhance the self. (2) The child takes on the same type (aggressive, regressive, or fixated) of frustrated behavior with which he is faced in parents, teachers, and other adults. (3) Attitudes which affect children affect not only one aspect of their development but their total psychosocial development. This means that frustration affects the whole individual, not only his emotional nature.

Section VI

Evidence of Frustration in Adolescent Psychosocial Development

Most of the direct evidence given in the previous section of the way frustration is brought about applies to the preadolescent ages. It is assumed that, in general, the same mechanisms operate at the adolescent level. It is true that the possibilities of frustration increase as children grow into youth, and there is some evidence that problems increase in severity up to the upper adolescent ages. Many new needs appear during the "teens." These needs have been variously described, and have been fairly well recognized as "developmental tasks." [1] Each of them represents hurdles for the growing boy and girl and possible sources of frustration if the tasks are not accomplished. In this section will be summarized the influences which affect the behavior of youth as they face these tasks.

Physiological factors

Boys and girls reach physiological maturity at different ages, but with both sexes it is likely to occur during the junior high school years. During the later childhood and early adolescent years, girls are on the average about 2 years farther advanced physically than are boys. During these years, there is a period of rapid growth in both height and weight lasting from about 1½ to 3 years. This occurs for most girls between the ages of 10½ and

[1] Corey (16) cites these developmental tasks:

1. Coming to terms with their own bodies.
2. Learning new relationships to their age-mates.
3. Achieving independence from parents.
4. Achieving adult social and economic status.
5. Acquiring self-confidence and a system of values.

14½ and for most boys between the ages of 12 and 16. For girls, most of their physical growth and change has occurred by the time they enter the senior high school. For boys, growth continues into the senior high school years.

Since schools promote pupils on a basis of chronological age and not on the basis of differences in maturity this contributes to some lack of understanding and interests between boys and girls in the same class group. Girls at this level may therefore seek out older boys in groups which have considerably more mature interests. To some extent, this throws some girls into an atmosphere somewhat beyond their general knowledge and understanding. This experience may cause undue tension and maladjustment in such girls which may remain with them or be difficult for them to overcome.

Just as there is a difference in the ages between boys and girls of physiological maturing, there is also a wide normal variation in the ages at which individuals of either sex mature. The range for girls is from 9 to 17 years; for boys it is 11 to 17 years. Since maturing means growth in height and weight and development into an adult build, there will be a much greater variation in size among girls or among boys in any one of the junior high school grades than there will be in any of the elementary school grades. The girl who outstrips her friends in growth and the boy who lags behind have their own peculiar problems of adjustment. The early development of secondary sex characteristics or a retarded development of them provides many possibilities for frustration in the social group.

Unevenness of physical growth during the period of rapid growth makes it difficult for the boy or girl to maintain perfect muscle coordination, and results in a certain awkwardness not experienced during the childhood years. This is much more pronounced in boys than in girls due to the greater all-over growth experienced by the boy. Awkwardness is embarrassing and increases self-consciousness.

Any physical characteristic which marks the individual as different from his peers is a matter of concern to him. Skin blemishes, which are fairly common at this period, obesity which may occur from overeating or from glandular imbalance, disproportionate growth of any one feature such as the nose or the feet, growing too tall or too large (in girls), not growing to average height or weight (in boys), or any physical handicap which was taken for granted during childhood years will now be the cause of great concern. One study (70) based on the examination of 93 boys and 83 girls showed that 31 percent of the boys and 41 percent of the girls, at one time or another during the period of the study, were definitely disturbed about their physical characteristics, 5 of the boys facing a really serious problem in accepting their individual differences. Fenton (27) and Meek (51) conclude that the rapid growth process experienced during this period consumes a

great deal of energy and causes the youngster to feel fatigued much of the time. As one boy put it, "I was so crazy about physical education until this year and now I'd rather just sit in the sun and talk or just do nothing." This inertia often brings upon them chastisement for laziness when the depletion-of-energy factor is not understood.

The adolescent and the family

With the onset of puberty parents and child gradually assume a new relationship to each other, a relationship all too frequently characterized by ambivalence and inconsistency on the part of each. Parents as well as other adults reflect the child's changing physical self in their attitudes toward him. In seeing him become more adult in size they suddenly expect him to have maturity of judgment and a sense of responsibility. This expectation the pubescent child is not prepared to meet, for his activity level is normally not so high and his experience is not so great as those of parents and other adults. Because of this feeling that he should have maturity of judgment and the realization at the same time that he has not, adults become inconsistent in their behavior toward the child. Their attitudes may vary from situation to situation so that the adolescent is today treated as an adult with no assumed sense of responsibility and tomorrow is treated as a child not capable of making simple judgments.

On his part, the pubescent youngster gradually withdraws from the role which he has played up to that period of more or less unquestioning acceptance of his parents' affection and guidance. He begins to replace his close home relationships with outside interests and attachments to friends of his own choosing, and wishes to be able to do so without interference from his parents. He does, however, continue to feel the need of the security that their love and understanding can provide and often experiences the desire to fly back to the protective atmosphere of the home.

Sometimes, therefore, in his wavering between childhood and adulthood the adolescent will revert to earlier childhood patterns of behaving, offering submission; at other times he becomes defiant of even mild restrictions on what he feels is his personal liberty.

Understanding parents accept this behavior for what it is—a stage in their child's struggle for independence—and are able to make the process of gradual emancipation a less difficult one than it would otherwise be. Those who do not understand and thus do not accept, or accept only in part, will either fight the child all the way or they will show further inconsistency of behavior by alternately accepting him warmly and rejecting him angrily. This ambivalence in attitude on the part of both parents and children makes adolescence a time of conflict in the family and results in unhappy parents and resentful children.

While there are many conflicts which come out into the open for dispute

between parents and child, Frank (29) points to a particularly serious one of which the family is often unaware and which may have an effect on the child's mental health. At puberty or soon after, as the child becomes more aware of himself he also, perhaps for the first time, *sees* people and begins to divest his parents of the hallowed images with which he endowed them in his childhood. He sees that they are not all he thought them to be. Likewise, he sees that the social life around him is somewhat different from what he has been told or has imagined. Many children have been led to believe that the social world outside is a well-organized, orderly life.

Finding that there are discrepancies between pretensions and actuality in the adult world, adolescents often become concerned about their own families, sensitive and worried about family customs and patterns and ways of living which now appear to be peculiar, different, and embarrassing. The adolescent girl in particular is prone to compare her home and family with homes and families of her friends and to suffer intensely for any shortcomings she finds. She realizes that her social status or acceptability will have a definite relationship to the cultural quality of that home. Davis (19) points out that in adolescence, the lower-status individual begins to feel the pressure of lower status much more keenly and that children of families which have begun to "fall" in class status see their dilemma more vividly and become more careful to avoid behavior and situations which will reveal their poor status position.

This variation in the attitude and action of adolescents toward the family shows clearly not only the problems which they face, but the process of the quick changes between frustrated behavior and more normal behavior. These quick changes are more necessary because of the inconsistency in the parents' behavior. Many times the youth may think he has the problem solved only to find his parents have changed the field of action, making his solution of the problem of no value.

The adolescent and his peers

Socializing with his own age-mates has been a part of the child's experience from his earliest years. All through his early and later childhood, the child has been a part of a neighborhood group or gang. Until adolescence group activities were accepted as natural and routine with little consciousness of the relation of himself to the group. But with the coming of puberty, belonging to a social group acquires real significance. Social consciousness is developed. This is due in part to an awakening to the expectations of society that he will put aside childish play and interests and will develop social skills more allied to the adult pattern of behavior and in part to his own intensified need to "belong" and to be an integral part of a group of his peers.

New patterns of behavior must be learned and adjustments must be made. These new and radically different adjustments in activities and interests and habits increase emotional tension and may result in feelings of frustration which in turn cause overt expressions of jealousy and anger.

Conformity in the Peer Culture.—The modes of behavior and the beliefs of a group of a given age are called the *peer culture* of that group. It is through this culture that normal adolescents attack their problems. If they are able to achieve approval, recognition, and status in this group, they have solved one of their major problems of social adjustment. While the family exerts the greatest influence upon the behavior of the child during the early years, at adolescence the opinions of the peer group have more influence than the family or the school in determining behavior. The social group with which the child associates, therefore, will have a direct bearing on his developing ideals and standards. It is quite true that as long as the family lives in a neighborhood which has a fairly stable population with well-recognized standards, whatever those standards be, the standards of the peer group will not differ from the family standards to the extent they will if the family moves about or if the neighborhood represents a mobile population.

The young adolescent finds he is not automatically taken into the group but must win a place for himself. He does this largely by conforming to their standards and subscribing to their value patterns, by submerging himself in their interests and activities. He therefore becomes slavishly conventional in his behavior. Older adolescents or those who have achieved status are snobbish and critical of deviations; they are quick to pick on those whom they regard as inferior for it bolsters their own sense of superiority. Therefore, in order not to subject himself to their rebuffs, and at the same time to make himself socially acceptable, he dresses like, appears like, and talks like the crowd. He does what the crowd does. (76)

In their desire to see the adolescent become an individual, parents and other adults are oftentimes critical of this slavish conformity, but as Meek (51) points out, adults interested in seeing him develop as an individual should first help him to conform to the herd. The conformity bolsters him up in that it is a symbol of belonging. He will not need to depend on this tool or symbol when he feels sure of his acceptability. It is true that along with the desire to conform there is a desire to be unique or outstanding, but always within the confines of what the group considers acceptable. After the young adolescent has submerged himself in the group to the point where he cannot be criticized for nonconformity, he must then proceed to gain recognition for himself as an individual. The youth who has won prestige in the group may with impunity in later adolescence assert his individuality in ways previously not wholly acceptable. The winning of prestige in his peer group presents one of the major possibilities for the development of frustration in the adolescent.

Social acceptance or rejection.—Studies of the personality patterns of adolescent boys and girls who are most and least acceptable to their age groups have revealed certain definite characteristics.

Dimock's (21) study of a group of boys between the ages of 12 and 16 at a summer camp revealed that those receiving the highest social acceptability ratings were cooperative, helpful, courteous, considerate of others, honest, unselfish, self-controlled, and showed leadership qualities. They rarely or never bluffed, bullied, quarreled, carried grudges, thought they were "picked on," acted superior and domineering, or showed overdependence on others. He found that being mentally bighter, older, and more competent in camp skills than their associates did not outweigh the telling consequences of their characteristic behavior.

In a 2-year study of the personality patterns of children least acceptable to their age-mates, Northway (54) recognized three distinct personality types: (1) recessive—those who are listless, lack vitality, and have little or no interest in what is going on around them; (2) socially uninterested children—those who are quiet and retiring, but who, unlike the recessive group, do have interests. These are personal rather than social interests and include hobbies, reading, art, music, etc. Some of these children are uninterested in other children, while others are shy and uncomfortable with them. They are usually considered "queer" by the peer culture group; (3) socially ineffective children—these are the trouble-makers in the classroom, noisy, rebellious, boastful. While they appear to be diametrically opposite from recessive children, they have in common the lack of acceptance by classmates and these manifested forms of behavior seem to have arisen as rather ineffective, naive attempts to overcome the basic social insecurity and isolation from group life which they experience. Three types of personality which Northway recognizes corresponds closely with the three types of frustration described in Section IV.

The adolescent peer culture breaks down into many small groups or competitive cliques which may seriously interfere with the normal conduct of school affairs. Cole (13) estimates that all such cliques taken together rarely include more than two-thirds of the school members, many individuals therefore being left in social isolation. Dimock (21) found that relatively few boys in ordinary group situations are unanimously popular or acceptable; that a substantial number, probably a majority, enjoy a moderate degree of acceptability or popularity among their associates; but that a highly significant group of perhaps 15 to 25 percent possesses an acceptability status judged to be below the minimum needs for wholesome and satisfying personality.

In a problemmaire administered to unselected groups of boys in 20 high schools, Fleege (28) found that 30 percent of the boys reported that, at least on occasion, they experienced difficulty in making friends and "getting along" with others; for 7 percent the adjustment involved serious problems.

In studying the prevalence of the problem of feelings of loneliness in adolescent boys, he says:

> We note a definite and consistent trend for more and more boys to complain of this problem as we advance upward through the school. Hence, the freshmen are found to have the smallest number who have been bothered by feelings of loneliness and the largest number who are free from this difficulty, while the seniors have the largest number who admit having this problem and the smallest number who say they are rarely if ever bothered with this difficulty.

An analysis of the causes of loneliness given by the 710 boys reveals that lack of friends and nothing to do and no place to go are the dominant ones. Of those who gave the reason, "too few in the neighborhood, nobody around to play with," almost all were underclassmen with the majority being freshmen. Those who advanced "personality difficulties" as a cause of loneliness were, on the other hand, almost without exception upperclassmen. Taking all high-school boys together, 41 percent found bashfulness a problem about which they were seriously concerned, at least occasionally, while 15 percent said that this difficulty frequently caused them grave concern.

Influence of the school

At the same time that he is facing conflicts at home the young adolescent may develop a resentment against the authority exercised by the school, an authority which is little different for the adolescent from what it is for the child just entering school.

While some adolescents accept the continuation of the authority exercised since early childhood, others accept it only in part, and some openly rebel, dropping out of school as soon as they have reached the age at which the compulsory school attendance law ceases to function. Blos (9) points out that "the learning process thus assumes a personal meaning for each student, and his attitude toward the childhood role which he is expected to play in school is an important factor in determining the degree of his success in academic achievement." He continues to say that the student who is eager to assert himself on a mature level is inevitably subjected to recurrent strains at school. He must choose between his own desire for active exploration in fields which symbolize grown-upness and the demand of the school that he accept instruction. Either way, a conflict is engendered which may result in unstable forms of behavior and may be responsible for fluctuation in interests and attitudes and for irregularity in school attendance.

Studies of school leavers.—A large portion of youth leave school immediately upon their coming out from under the compulsory school law. Many of them leave before that time on the basis of exemption under the State law for families that need the support of their children.

There are two types of studies of school leavers which should be noted. Typical of studies which cite the reasons that pupils give for leaving school

is the study by Johnson and Legg (40) which showed that the reason most often given by youth for leaving school was their dissatisfaction with school. Dissatisfactions were classified as shown in table III.

TABLE III

Types of dissatisfactions with school as given by nongraduates

[After Johnson & Legg (40)]

Nature of dissatisfaction [1]	Young people who gave this dissatisfaction as—		
	Principal reason for leaving	Contributory reason for leaving [2]	Either principal or contributory [2]
Total	209	84	293
Failing grades—discouraged	38	22	60
Dissatisfied with courses	29	25	54
Disliked teachers or teaching methods	25	40	65
Disliked social relations or the noncoed system	13	23	36
Unable to adjust after transfer	8	2	10
Thought discipline too severe	5	4	9
Other miscellaneous reasons	17	16	33
Disliked school generally—no specific reason given	74	33	107

[1] Excludes dissatisfaction specifically due to lack of personal funds, which is included with economic reasons.

[2] In this column one individual may appear one or several times, according to the number of ways in which dissatisfied; hence the figures add to more than the total number of young people interviewed.

The second type of study of drop-outs is that which relates school leaving to other factors concerning the individual, such as scores on various types of aptitude and achievement tests and socio-economic status. These studies all show a relationship among the various factors and between each of these factors and elimination from school. As to the meaning of this syndrome the writer has a possible answer. This syndrome is a cluster of symptoms of *frustration* of which elimination from school is one element.

Actually the group eliminated from school is not the group of youth who are most frustrated. In fact, elimination from school may in many cases start the youth on a search for a new goal and new method of working toward that goal. This is borne out by results in one of the studies of the relationship of factors surrounding elimination from school. Mullen (53) made an analysis of the apparent frustration of two groups of high-school youth; those who had dropped out under what would be called truancy conditions, and a group still in school who were referred to the child study

bureau of the city school system because of being disorderly in school. Of the two groups, the in-school disorderly group had in comparison with the truant group poorer work habits, were more hyperactive, were more aggressive had more anti-social behavior, and more temper tantrums. The truant group had more lying and stealing on its record. Of the two groups, the in-school group was the more frustrated. The in-school group exhibited very clearly aggressive frustrated behavior and the truant group exhibited fairly clearly regressive type of frustrated behavior. This is a very important finding for education.

The Indiana Study.—In the Indiana study (37) two age groups in an Indiana high school were studied intensively with various types of approaches. The results on the Differential Aptitude Tests [2] showed that despite varying trait differences in certain "intellectual" traits, the school was not adapting its program to such differences either between the sexes or within one sex group. The summary on this item as shown in the Indiana Study (37) was as follows:

> The tremendous differences between the sexes among the 17-year-olds suggest the desirability of applying highly differentiated instructional practices. To throw these boys and girls together in the same courses or course patterns, without differentiated instruction, and to exact the same standards of achievement for both would certainly not promote good adjustment for the boys and might even set up psychological disadvantages for the girls. The majority of these 17-year-old boys could not possibly enjoy much success in a pattern of academic type courses. If the tests are at all valid, it is doubtful whether more than 10 percent of the 17-year-old boys would ever be successful in college work of the liberal arts type.

Results on the California Mental Health Analysis [3] used in the Indiana study showed many tendencies toward maladjustment or frustrations. Both 17-year-old boys and 17-year-old girls exhibited excessive emotional instability. Achievement in fundamental skills, social participation, and attitudes of various types showed somewhat the same pattern of serious maladjustment of youth to school and to life which when added together, indicated a serious problem for American Education.

Illustration of the operation of the frustration process

Let us consider one example in detail. The matter of adjustment to the peer culture has been emphasized in the studies again and again. It is the cause of disturbance within a fairly homogenous social group, in a school group (as shown by the results of the Indiana Study), and as between youth in differing social classes (36). In all these cases, frustration has developed because the individuals have not achieved social understanding with others in the group.

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[2] Published by the Psychological Corporation, New York, N. Y.

[3] Published by the California Test Bureau, Hollywood, Calif.

When an individual's procedure in seeking oneness with his social group does not bring satisfaction he may accomplish his purpose by varying his approach, if he understands and can use other techniques. Or the environment may change, giving better opportunity for adjustment. A certain amount of opposition or obstruction often acts as a spur to the solution of a problem. There is a point, however, at which failure of the procedures used in attempting to satisfy the need results in the individual's becoming frustrated and acting in accordance with one of the three types of frustration described in the previous section.

The individual may withdraw from any attempt to become socialized with his peers and fall back upon activities which keep him from being faced with his problem. He may ignore all social contacts and bury himself in other forms of activity which are often at a lower level of operation. Another possibility is that he will become obstreperous about the matter and attempt through sheer exuberance and physical force to make himself the "life of the party." Or he may become resigned to the situation and react in a stereotyped manner to situations involving his peers, that is, being unable to change his technique of approaching the situation, he may repeat over and over the same unsatisfactory one.

Let us follow the steps through in their logical sequence. First, we have the basic need which for its realization is governed by the principles of the growth and development sequence outlined in Section I. The individual has an urge to take part in various types of activities all of which lead to growth in understanding and cooperation with persons of his own age. The fulfillment of this urge requires not only the possibility of growth but also the control of the emotional nature in relation to his understandings, and the differentiation into specialized understandings in some areas, that is, the development of certain types of relationships—intellectual, social, and emotional—with persons of his own group level. That is the framework of the possibilities for developing social behavior with a group of peers.

Moving now to the second point of psychosocial development, i. e., the motivation principle, we find many possibilities. If the individual has developed considerable interest in an ability with things and ideas he may not require much social activity with his peers to satisfy him. If he has not, he may be quite dependent for satisfaction on such social activity. If an individual is too easily led by his affective system the problem is usually heightened because it is difficult to satisfy an individual who lacks good emotional balance. Thus, we have variations in an individual which make for an easier or more difficult solution of the problem.

Turning now to the third step which is that of finding ways to meet the situation: If the individual is satisfied with the efforts he wants to put forth, there is no frustration. In this case and in all cases it should be remembered

that whether or not frustration results, and if so what type of frustration results, depends very little upon the particular environmental situation.

If the individual is unable to satisfy himself in his relationship with his peers, one of the three types of frustration may develop. He may withdraw within himself and avoid all contacts which might threaten his own self-enhancement, thus exhibiting the regressive type of frustrated behavior. Such an individual often drops out of school in order to avoid facing the difficult social problems with which he is confronted at school. Incidentally in so doing, he may find a way out of his frustration, not only through satisfaction in some vocation, but because the regression to a somewhat lower or different level of social activity is more likely to solve the problem for him.

Or the individual who is unable to adjust to the social behavior requirements of the peer group may become aggressive. Both in school and out he will attempt to dominate other individuals or groups by sheer physical force and/or verbalism. This type of reaction has been the subject of considerable misunderstanding by educators. At one time docility in the classroom was the respected norm, but as the idea of socialization came into the objectives of the school the accepted norm was that of the fullest socialization of the individual. If socialization is the result of a democratic and a well-balanced emotional development we have one of the most hoped for outcomes of education. However, in some cases so-called leadership is simply the reaction of a frustrated individual who has become a bully. This kind of development is one of the errors of the concept of socialization as realized in school practice.

The third type of reaction to frustration which the individual may develop is that of fixation. Many students show this type of behavior in their social life in high school. These are the youth who continue with their inadequate behavior in the same way day after day. They are in school but they appear not to be a part of it in a vital way. They are the group which tends to stay in high school even though it is not satisfactory to them.

Concluding statement.—It seems reasonable to conclude that any of the frustrating behaviors which are brought about at the adolescent level will be one of the three types described. This is an important conclusion because it means that although there appears to be a myriad of interactions possible between the environment and the individual, the resulting action, if the individual is frustrated in this interaction, can be classified in one of three ways. Still more important is the fact that there is a common approach to the eradication or treatment of frustration. The frustrated behavior itself *is not treated. It is only a symptom.* The implications for this in the educational program is one of the main subjects discussed in the last section of this presentation.

Section VII

Prevention of Frustrated Behavior Through the Educational Program

There are two major aspects to the educational program at the adolescent level for which the psychosocial principles of this bulletin have important implications. One is the direct educational program of pupils in the goal-oriented, nonfrustrated state. The other aspects consists of the procedures of the school program for dealing with frustrated youth or with nonmotivated behavior. In one sense the former aspect may be considered as preventive work and the second as therapeutic or direct treatment. If the first aspect were to be carried out efficiently enough there would be no need for the second phase. This section deals with the first aspect of the educational program.

In general, motivated behavior or activity will be greatest when the school program encourages or facilitates growth of the individual according to the principles set down in Sections I and II. These principles indicate that the curriculum must be planned to fit the maturing individuals. It must not present problems beyond the individual's capability. Since each individual grows at his own rate and has an individual type of growth, the school must endeavor at all times to discover these individual tendencies and take them into account. Since the individual advances through the interaction of all types of activities, social as well as intellectual, the school must provide all types within its program. Since the school must provide opportunity for the individual's self-enhancement, the program must be specifically planned for this, that is, it must provide real motivation for the individual. In general, this means that the work must be made meaningful for each individual.

This bulletin cannot for many and obvious reasons cover all the implications of the psychosocial principles of Sections I and II. Only a few important ones are indicated. These are given roughly in order of their importance as viewed by the writer.

Special implications of the principle of self-enhancement

If it is accepted that the basic need in life is the preservation and enhancement of the self, then the most important function of the school is to provide learning opportunities which will help youth to satisfy this need in ways which are acceptable to society. The principle indicates that the student will, in any event, direct his attention to those parts of the environmental field which have a personal significance for him—those aspects which can contribute to the satisfaction of the need for maintenance and enhancement of his phenomenal self. The traditional high school too often is concerned with teaching things which the student may have use for some time in the future with little attempt made to relate them to present pupil needs and interests.

One of the ways widely attempted by schools to supply enhancement to pupils is school marks. For many pupils, marks are an acceptable goal and the material presented is accepted as valuable with passing of examinations and reciting satisfactorily in class as periodic indicators of success. For other pupils, marks become ends in themselves; such pupils are likely to drop consideration of the area subject matter the moment they know the marks they will receive.

The worst aspect of the situation occurs when a pupil, finding the materials distasteful, is nevertheless forced to take them in order to receive a passing mark. In such cases, the learning may have a negative value since the materials are not only rejected at the time of study, but may be earmarked as undesirable. A rejection for that type of material is set up in the individual's system and except for traces of remembrance, this rejection has a long-time effect. A common situation in school is the acceptance of marks as an immediate goal with the rejection of the materials of instruction as a long-time goal. This situation is shown in figure 12.

The organization of the curriculum in the typical high school acts as a deterrent to self-ehancement with some pupils. Set up to impart information and skills and to provide reasoning situations in various subject areas, the curriculum is by many pupils felt to be alien to their interests and removed from their environment; since the approach to the individual is made through the subject rather than through the self the possibilities for growth provided to the individual are somewhat limited.

Moreover, all too frequently the subjects are uncoordinated, and fail to cover the environmental field in a comprehensive way.

Figure 13—from Snygg and Combs (68)—illustrates the lack of relationship of the curriculum both to the self and to the environment. The top diagram shows the individual's environmental field in its interaction with his total self; the second diagram depicts the environment, or the external part of the phenomenal field, unrelated to the self; and the third illustrates the way in which subjects fall in the external environment.

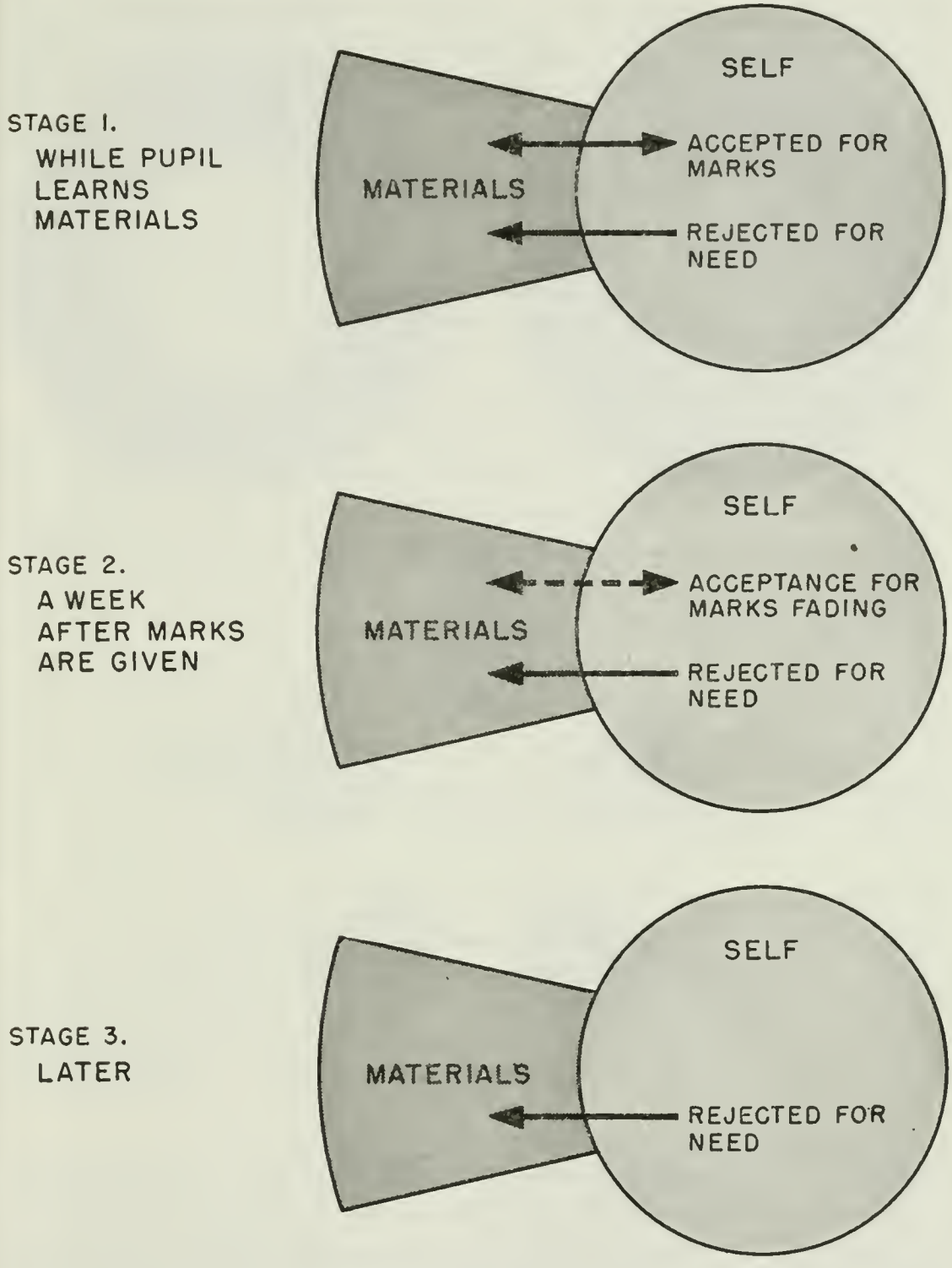


Figure 12.—Schematic diagrams showing how youth may accept learning for immediate self-enhancement, but not for the more fundamental long-term self-enhancement.

Some schools have attempted correlation of certain subjects as a method of overcoming the unrelatedness of subjects, and to the extent that correlation unifies subject matter, it is an improvement. But to be really effective, the curriculum should grow out of the needs of the pupils and result in

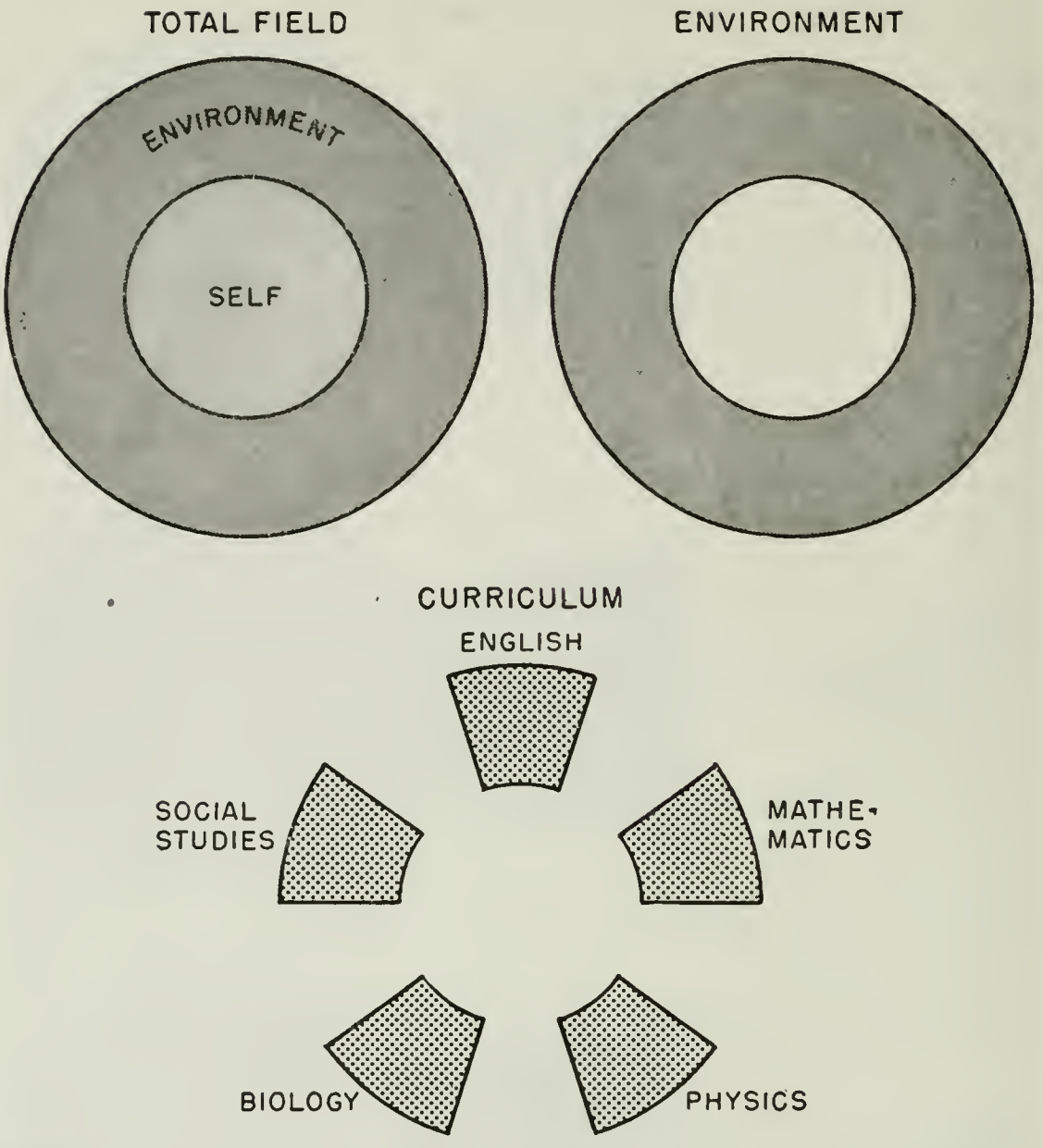


Figure 13.—The environment, the self, and the curriculum. (After Snygg and Coombs, 68.)

integration within each individual pupil. With a view to achieving this purpose other schools have developed the core curriculum, general education program, or "common learnings" as it is sometimes called, which is an attempt to provide a program related to the total phenomenal field of the pupils. It uses a larger block of time than is needed for specialized subjects and subject matter is brought in as it is needed to help pupils achieve the goals which they themselves recognize.

Well suited to the core program is the experience unit; but whether or not combined with the core, the experience unit holds promise. Its emphasis is upon the learner being actively engaged in the learning process; certainly,

under the experience unit he cannot be a passive recipient. This type of unit is characterized by freedom of choice not found in the subject-matter unit method. There is freedom from subject-matter prescription, as well as freedom to discuss and work upon whatever problems arise and are the concern of the group. Thut and Gerberich (74), in their recent book describing methods of instruction in the secondary school, show how the experience unit method attempts to care, above all for the needs and concerns of adolescent boys and girls. Blair (8), Cook (15), and Wright (84) also have developed implications for education from psychological research which are in general agreement with the viewpoint here expressed.

Since self-enchancement occurs when an individual succeeds in achieving a goal which he regards as desirable, it is of the utmost importance that both the goals of learning and the procedures for arriving at the goals should be acceptable to a youth as his own, always with the stipulation that the goals are also acceptable to society. Acts of performance which are without meaning to the self tend to keep these acts from being repeated. Learning results most advantageously in an atmosphere in which the youth feels free to explore the environment in relation to his own individual needs and feels adequate in the process. To develop and administer an educational program meeting these specifications is not an easy task. Many mistakes will be made in attempting a program based on this idea. To satisfy this concept of learning, changes in methodology, and in the attitudes of teachers are necessary.

Two other important implications of the psychosocial principles for bringing about learning will be discussed. The first is the implication of psychosocial development of group dynamics, and the second, the adaptation of learning to levels of behavior, keeping in mind the optimum development of each youth.

Implications of the principles of psychosocial development for group dynamics in the school

By group dynamics is meant the principles which govern the activity of persons which deals with the direct interplay between individuals especially in groups.

The early sections of this bulletin showed that individuals brought up under a democratic environment increased in growth thereby. If one attains a democratic view of life, it means that the balance between the affective influences and his choices of activities are such that he can meet situations using all his abilities at the highest possible level and at the same time have

an understanding of all the social implications. The individual who has acquired this balance has the nearest thing to an open mind that a human being can have. He can see the issues most clearly because he has the least prejudice, which is a product of improper affective balance. In fact, it is only through increasing the number (or proportion) of democratic persons through education that the hope of increasing the social progress for mankind is assured.

One of the mistakes made in connection with group dynamics is the belief that its purpose is to cultivate "leaders." In the process of group dynamics, the aim is to produce democratic persons because only through such persons can effective and progressive actions be initiated. In this process, the group recognizes the ability of some individuals to do one thing better than others and these individuals are by that fact given more responsibility in that area than others. Too often, the purpose has been that of the development of persons who can lead others through force of their physical vitality, ability to verbalize, and the like. Such leaders are often the product of a frustration and their capacity for "intelligent leadership" is probably lower than that of some other members of the group. This is in line with Franseth (30) who states that leadership shows itself essentially in an attitude of mind that everyone should participate in group actions.

Group dynamics should be a part of every activity in the school and of the school program in its larger aspects. Since there is differentiation of ability to do different things, some will always surpass others in dealing with people. Group dynamics is primarily an educational method—it increases learning and is itself the foundation of democratic society. Its limitations should also be mentioned. It is not a device for creating ideas; it is a device for spreading them. Individuals must still arrive at original ideas independently. Group dynamics is a method which frees the individual from tensions and gives him access to the ideas of others. Group dynamics should never, therefore, be considered an end in itself; it never creates ideas for itself. It is a motivating and facilitating device. The reason that group participation should have the effects ascribed to it lies in the dual nature of the activity, as Bales (4) has pointed out in his analysis. The individual has both the group situation, and all the social tension which that may entail, and the outward situation, i. e., the problem which the group has been brought together to consider. This process by which one must consider other individuals in a group, and a problem at the same time, not only tends to increase understanding of the problem but also creates a situation in which the individual has practice in bringing about emotional balance. The following chart from Bales (4), somewhat abbreviated, shows the various possible reactions of an individual in group action. This indicates that group action has to do with two things—the problem being discussed and the relationship among the participants.

A. Social-Emotional Area: Positive	1. *Shows solidarity*, raises other's status, gives help, reward.
	2. *Shows tension release*, jokes, laughs, shows satisfaction.
	3. *Agrees*, shows passive acceptance, understands, concurs, complies.
B. Task-Area: Neutral	4. *Gives suggestion*, direction, implying autonomy for other.
	5. *Gives opinion*, evaluation, analysis, expresses feeling, wish.
	6. *Gives orientation*, information, repeats, clarifies, confirms.
	7. *Asks for* information, *orientation*, repetition, confirmation.
	8. *Asks for opinion*, evaluation, analysis, expression of feeling.
	9. *Asks for suggestion*, direction, possible ways of action.
C. Social-Emotional Area: Negative	10. *Disagrees*, shows passive rejection, formality, withholds help.
	11. *Shows tension*, asks for help, withdraws out of field.
	12. *Shows antagonism*, deflates other's status, defends or asserts self.

These reactions show that positive or negative behavior may arise in relation to a problem being discussed. If the group situation is operated in a democratic manner, the tensions both positive (items 1, 2, and 3) and negative (items 10, 11, and 12) tend to be reduced.

Group dynamics probably offers one of the more important ways for eradicating frustration resulting from youths coming to school from different social classes. Techniques for carrying on various phases of group dynamics may be found in the American Council's Curriculum in Intergroup Relations (18), The Sixteenth Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies (72), and the articles by Jennings (39) and by Robinson (58).

The adapation of learning to levels of behavior through the over-all organization of the school program

Secondary schools must adapt their programs to youths of varying levels of problem-solving ability, varying rates of growth, and differential abilities and interests. Each individual must be appraised over a period of time in order that the school may have a good picture of his possibilities. This means

that secondary schools must have good guidance programs involving the keeping of records over a period of time, the use of counselors, etc. It also involves the adaptation of instruction and courses of study to pupil abilities. This same point was made for intellectual traits by the writer in "Intellectual Abilities in the Adolescent Period" (62). Here, the point is expanded to take in all types of activities involved in psychosocial development. The relation to the curriculum of all three aspects of the problem for an individual—level of activity, rate of growth, and the growing differentiation of abilities—has not been described elsewhere; it deserves special attention. To describe the situation most easily, attention is called to figure 14.

Here, we have three pairs of diagrams. The first pair portrays the type of program indicated for those individuals whose regular school life will probably end at the age of 16 or 17. These are largely the pupils, aged 14 to 16, who now drop out of school. In some States, this withdrawal may take place without formalities; in others, through exemptions. This diagram shows an area of general education for those who grow fairly rapidly (for this group) and for those who grow slowly. The cut-off points on the figures indicate the end of general education but not the specialized education which might continue for some time.

The second diagram shows the situation for those youths who normally graduate from high school but who do not go much beyond this—perhaps a year at the most.

Similarly, the third diagram shows the situation for those who normally graduate from high school and pursue at least 2 years of college work. This group is the one pointed occupationally toward the semi-professional and professional levels.

In general, it seems reasonable to assume that the longer a youth stays in school, the longer he will have for absorbing general education. The specialization areas lend themselves to the two points: (1) that specialization probably should take place eventually with anyone attending school beyond 14 years of age, and (2) that the specialization should take place during the last phase of education.

Instruction for different levels involves differences in methodology. References on such methods are found in the bulletin, "The Slow Learner in the Secondary School" (67).

The guidance program requires as complete an inventory of the youth's psychosocial standing as possible and the use of this inventory in direct counseling situations. If an individual is found to be frustrated, other measures are indicated. Procedures in such cases are indicated in the next section. The methods of appraisal of individuals in the motivated state are those outlined in such texts or manuals as those of Dunsmoor and Miller (23), Hahn and MacLean (34), Lefever et al. (42), Traxler (75), Williamson (83), and others (33, 73).

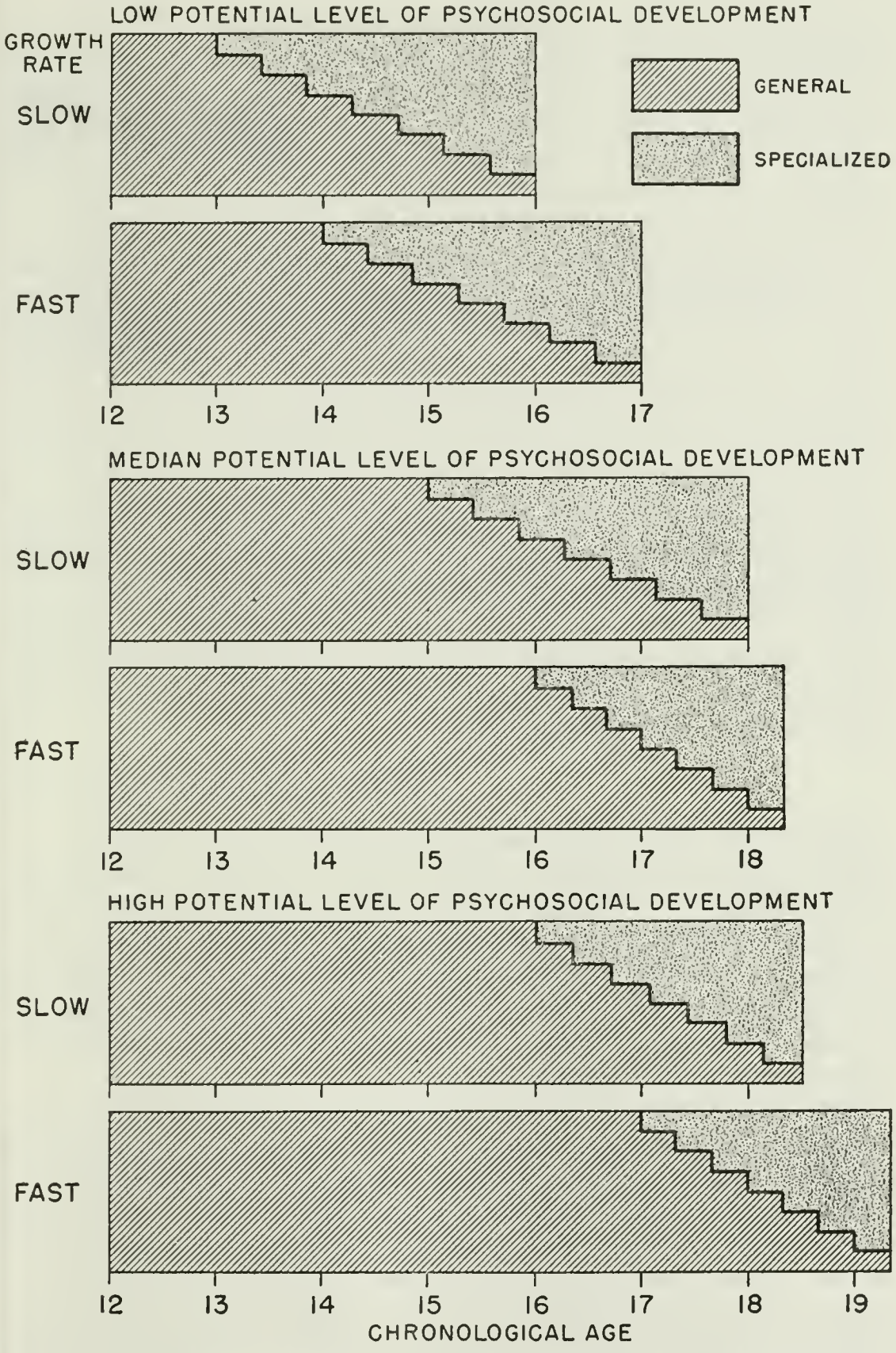


Figure 14.—Relation of general and specialized secondary and higher education for groups of youth of differing potentialities and growth rates.

Section VIII

Implication for the Educational Program in the Identification and Rehabilitation of Frustrated Individuals

The foregoing suggestions for a school program are directed at making that program more effective in promoting growth and development of motivated individuals and the prevention of frustrated behavior in those individuals. This section considers the many public pupils who are already severely frustrated by the time they have reached the secondary school, and what it is that the schools may do for them in order that they, too, may profit from the school's instructional program.

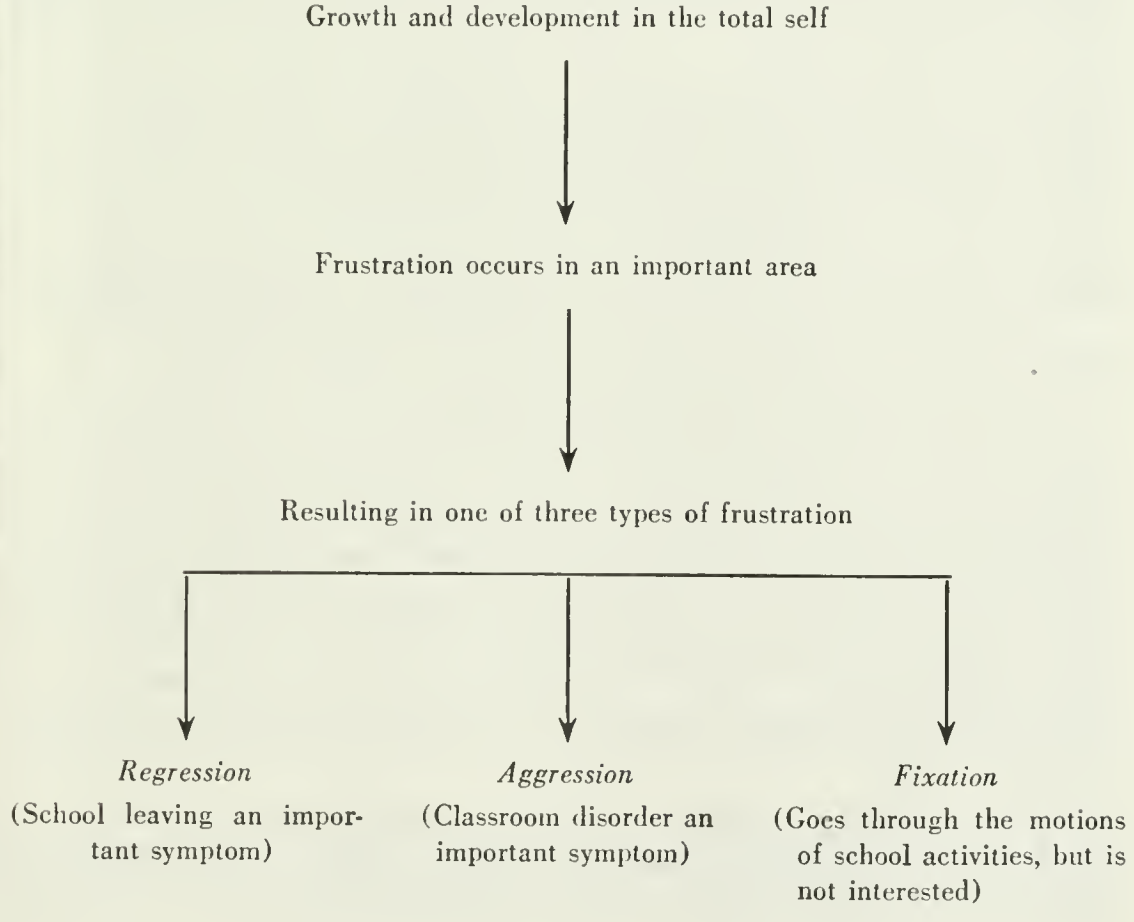
General orientation toward the problem

In Section 4, it was noted that behavior resulting from frustration was not goal-directed or motivated as is other behavior. This fact indicates that a different approach is needed to bring individuals *out of* frustration from that needed to keep them from being frustrated. Since the individual has failed to be motivated by his environment, the problem is not solved by surrounding him again with the same or similar environment which produced the original frustration, for this normally results in no action and probably a strengthening of the frustration.

This probability has not occurred to educators because the study of maladjustment did not reveal that the learning situation in frustration is different from that in any other situation. Even when a frustrating situation is observed, as is, for example, often the case when a youth wants to leave high school, the tendency is to attempt a solution of the problem by persuading him to stay in school. This sometimes includes asking the would-be-leaver why he wishes to leave, the answer to which is not valid because the youth does not himself understand his frustration. The surrounding of a frustrated individual in school with the usual school environment is not the answer to the problem.

In this connection, it must be recognized that misbehavior or peculiar behavior or maladjustment itself does not necessarily indicate frustration. If the behavior contributes to self-enhancement, it is not frustrated behavior even though it is behavior which is not acceptable to society. This, too, is probably the reason that the behavior in some groups of individuals which is satisfying to them looks so "wrong" to some other group of individuals. For example, if an adolescent steals because of a need for money or the goods he takes, he is not exhibiting frustrated behavior but rather an unacceptable way of reaching his goal, a way which is branded as "wrong" by society. To be helped to change this behavior, he must be brought to see that he can attain his goal through channels acceptable to society. Insight leading to change can be achieved through the ordinary motivating procedures. On the other hand, if the youth steals without attaining a goal through the action, that is, the thing stolen is not the goal or a step in the direction of the goal, the stealing may be classified as frustrated behavior. Schools have not treated frustrated behavior as a special case, i. e., as nonmotivated behavior. The recognition of behavior for what it is opens one of the greatest new possibilities in the adjustment of the individual at the secondary school age level.

A schematic diagram showing the outline of the frustration process is as follows:



Schools have tended not to accept responsibility for treating frustration except through compulsory school attendance and through punishment and rewards. These methods are not applicable to frustrated individuals because such individuals are not in the motivated state. New methods must be evolved by schools for taking care of frustrated youth.

The method suggested here involves the use of new guidance techniques which will help the individual to change from a nonmotivated to a motivated state. The frustrated individual is able to use only nonmotivated behavior patterns. He cannot react to a choice situation since he refuses to face reality. Therefore, if he solves his problem while in this state he does so only by accident. In order that he may be in a position to profit by guidance provided in the regular instructional program he must be brought back into himself and led to attack the problem anew. Some way must be found to help him to do away with the whole frustrated response, be it aggression, regression, or fixation.

Such techniques must of necessity be different from those used with nonfrustrated individuals in the regular instructional program. In the latter situation the most familiar way of treating all behavior is through presenting to individuals a variety of ways of reacting and solving situations.

The work of Rogers (59) (60) shows that if the person can face his action and to some extent understand it, the pattern will tend to disappear. To do this he must be in a position where he can express himself without his action producing resistance. Expression should, of course, be carried on so that he does not harm anyone in the process. The normal school situation does not allow free expression; instead, the individual is blamed for his behavior and the frustration or tension tends to increase. This tension must be eased before more normal behavior can set in. The first step, therefore, for the guidance counselor is to put the individual in a position to express his frustration—to let the behavior, through verbalization, if possible, run its course, with the counselor giving such help as he can to the end that the frustrated behavior is seen to be what it really is.

The important thing is that the frustrated behavior is not treated by any regular school-learning process. Frustrated behavior *is not channeled directly* into other behavior through having alternate procedures for attaining a goal which seems satisfactory, but the individual is thrown back upon his own individual self. The individual himself must be freed from the frustrated behavior through seeing the inconsistency of that behavior. *He must see this himself.* After an individual has become free from his frustrated behavior, he will be ready again to look for new procedures to attain his goal.

This analysis has far-reaching implications for education. A large number of youth of high-school age arrive in high school with frustration or develop frustration while there. The need for a new approach to take care

of this situation is indicated. The preventive activities have been touched upon in the previous section. Here we are faced with a situation which is not solvable through merely setting up new courses no matter how excellent. There are three steps in the process of dealing with frustrated adolescents.

Step 1. The identification of frustrated individuals

The first step is the identification of frustrated individuals. Certain groups of school youth include many of them. Among these are prospective drop-outs, those who are referred by teachers for disorderliness, those who are failing in studies, those with low scholastic aptitude scores, and the like. However, none of these by themselves or in combination reveals the way the youth himself feels about the situation which is one of the most fundamental facts as far as frustration is concerned. If a youth is referred for aid to a counselor for such problems as the above, and it appears that the school or community is unable to furnish adjustment to provide motivation, then the youth may be considered frustrated. However, interviewing large numbers of youth to identify cases of frustration is too much to ask. The best method by which most cases can be identified, apart from those discovered in the regular counseling services, is the use the results of ratings on a combination of factors characterizing the groups mentioned above together with the results on a group paper and pencil questionnaire on mental health or personality, such as the following:

Adjustment Inventory: (1) Schools; (2) Home—High-school and college level. Stanford University Press, Stanford University, Calif.

California Test of Personality, Intermediate series—grades 7–10; Secondary series—grades 9–14. California Test Bureau, Hollywood, Calif.

Detroit Adjustment Inventory—for junior and senior high school pupils. Public School Publishing Co., Bloomington, Ill.

Heston Personal Adjustment Inventory—for senior high school students. World Book Co., New York.

Mental Health Analysis. Intermediate level and secondary level. California Test Bureau, Hollywood, Calif.

Problem Check List; 7–9 grade level and 9–12 grade level (Mooney). Psychological Corporation, New York, N. Y.

Schrammel-Gorbutt Personality Adjustment Scale—for junior and senior high school pupils. Bureau of Education Measurements, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia.

SRA Youth Inventory, for high school youth, Science Research Associates, Chicago, Ill.

Studies in the use of adjustment questionnaires have been summarized by Shimberg (64) in connection with his analysis of the use of the Problem Check List. The questionnaires get at, to some extent, the way youth looks

at life, school, and his relationship with others. They do not measure personality or affective traits directly. It is better to measure adjustment directly than to try to get at *personality traits* since such traits may or may not indicate maladjusted individuals. Projective techniques could also be used but their use would entail considerably more time and effort and for identification purposes they would not be efficient. The direct approach suggested is therefore the most efficient.

Step 2. Relief from the frustrated behavior

The second, as well as the third step, has to do with the rehabilitation process, the change from the frustrated state to the motivated state. There are two aspects of the second step. The first aspect is to give the youth (1) an opportunity to experience the direct relief which comes from following through the frustration type of behavior and (2) guidance to appreciate and understand the reasons for his frustrations.

These two aspects of this step require primarily the use of individual guidance. Some group work, such as observing through a play or motion picture how someone else solves his problem, may help to speed the process, but at present, it is primarily an individual process. The essence of individual guidance is to give youth the opportunity to express himself in appropriate ways about his problem. At the secondary school level, expression will be largely through verbalization. The second aspect of this step is to arrive at an understanding of his real problem. Help on this must be given through a counselor or individual who has not been involved directly in the case or who does not stand in any administrative capacity toward the individual. No blame or condemnation should be attached to whatever the youth may say or to what he has done. The counselor should have no disciplinary powers, for if he does, the counselor cannot attain the degree of understanding necessary. If the youth knows the counselor has such powers, the student will not be nearly so able to accept sympathetic understanding. The counselor may generalize some of the youth's remarks in order to help clarify the youth's thinking, but he must not attempt to solve the problem for him in any way. This is the step which utilizes the method called "indirect counseling" since the individual must work himself out of his frustration. Rogers and others (59, 14) have outlined methods for this type of counseling.

Step 3. Direct guidance into motivated channels

Ths third step in the guidance process in overcoming frustration occurs when the youth has worked himself out of frustration and is ready for positive suggestions. In this step, everything which can be learned about the youth may be of help. The greater the amount of information which can be understood by the youth the greater is the possibility for his making the

right choice. It is true that the choice must be one which satisfies him, but the presentation of possibilities does not interfere at this stage. This third step is the same as that faced in counseling motivated individuals mentioned briefly in Section VI.

Following is a diagrammatic representation of the total process of counseling frustrated individuals in the three steps just described.

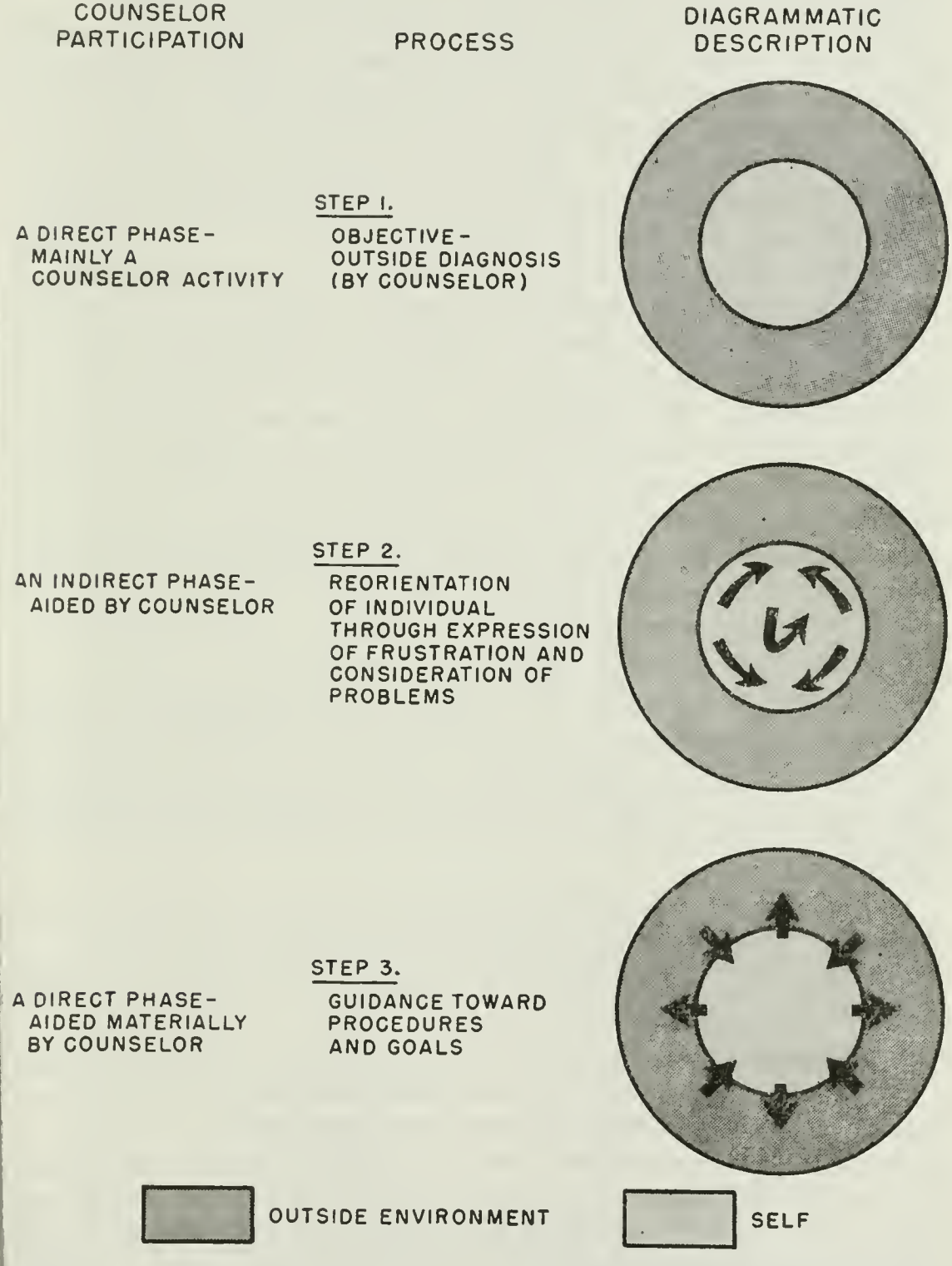


Figure 15.—Three steps in the process of counseling frustrated individuals.

Step 1 concerns the counselor most directly. He must use all the techniques available to make the diagnosis. Although some cases are obviously frustrated behavior cases, for most of them the school must make a special effort at identification. The school has not accepted this responsibility to any large extent, having in the main accepted those cases for investigation which have been thrust upon it too often only because the case disrupted school procedures and not because of solicitude for the pupil himself.

Step 2 is the indirect phase of the counseling process. It is so-called because the counselor acts mainly as a catalyst. Objective data are of little use in this particular step. The individual attempts to work out of his frustration by following through his behavior and analyzing his difficulties as he sees them. In this process, the youth should be led to determine upon another set of goals than those he has used to his own detriment. This process may be called indirect counseling.

This is the phase which has been studied by Rogers (59) (60) in connection mainly with adults referred for counseling. It is Rogers' opinion that this phase—the indirect phase of counseling—encompasses the whole of counseling frustrated individuals. As analyzed here indirect counseling becomes phase 2. The first phase given above can be disregarded in adult counseling because "patients" *come* to the counselor. In school, only a few problem cases come to the attention of school officials and the matter of identification of cases becomes an important direct phase of counseling. After being oriented so that a new goal is accepted, then, it seems, direct counseling described in phase 3 comes into the picture. Rogers does not agree with the necessity for the third phase.

Rogers points out that the indirect approach operates because it releases forces within the individual. The frustrated individual accepts reorientation of his problem because he himself arrives at it. The following suggestions for counselors are made by Rogers (60). He is speaking largely for counseling adults, but most of what he says is applicable at the secondary school level.

> This experience which releases the growth forces within the individual will come about in most cases if the following elements are present:
>
> 1. If the counselor operates on the principle that the individual is basically responsible for himself, and is willing for the individual to keep that responsibility.
> 2. If the counselor operates on the principle that the client has a strong drive to become mature, socially adjusted, independent, productive, and relies on this force, not on his own powers, for therapeutic change.
> 3. If the counselor creates a warm and permissive atmosphere in which the individual is free to bring out any attitudes and feelings which he may have, no matter how unconventional, absurd, or contradictory these attitudes may be. The client is as free to withhold expression as he is to give expression to his feelings.

4. If the limits which are set are simple limits set on behavior, and not limits set on attitudes. (This applies mostly to children. The child may not be permitted to break a window or leave the room, but he is free to feel like breaking a window, and the feeling is fully accepted. The adult client may not be permitted more than an hour for an interview, but there is full acceptance of his desire to claim more time.)
5. If the therapist uses only those procedures and techniques in the interview which convey his deep understanding of the emotionalized attitudes expressed and his acceptance of them. This understanding is perhaps best conveyed by a sensitive reflection and clarification of the client's attitudes. The counselor's acceptance involves neither approval nor disapproval.
6. If the counselor refrains from any expression or action which is contrary to the preceding principles. This means refraining from questioning, probing, blame, interpretation, advice, suggestion, persuasion, reassurance.

Phase 3 shows the last step in counseling frustrated behavior cases. The youth is once more in the situation where he is motivated; he has accepted new goals and is actively searching for procedures which will aid him in attaining them. In this step, all the knowledge the counselor can obtain about the individual will help in the treatment of that individual.

In his analysis of education and psychotherapy pertinent to this discussion, Symonds (71) assumes that counselors will deal only with the "indirect" methods leaving the more direct methods to the teachers. It seems reasonable, however, to accept that as secondary schools are now organized, both the direct and indirect phases of guidance of frustrated youth should be carried on by the school's guidance service. The point of view developed here seems to be in accord with Shoben (66) in his summary of his analysis of psychotherapy as a problem in learning theory in which he states, "It is here proposed that psychotherapy occurs through three interrelated processes: First, the lifting of repression and development of insight through the symbolic reinstating of the stimuli for anxiety; second, the diminution of anxiety by counter-conditioning through the attachment of the stimuli for anxiety to the comfort reaction made to the therapeutic relationship; and, third, the process of reeducation through the therapist's helping the patient to formulate rational goals and behaviorial methods for attaining them." Shoben as well as Rogers is writing about adults and the need of the first step of identifying frustrated behavior cases is not felt by them. In schools, behavior in itself does not definitely indicate frustration since schools are, after all, institutions in which, at present, fairly definite programs are set, and either noncompliance or compliance with that environment is a poor measure of frustration for the individual.

This analysis of the procedures for counseling frustrated youth indicates a needed change in the conception of a school. Schools have been operating on the assumption that their students are in a motivated state and that such deviations as occur can be altered by changing the outward environmental situation. If the analysis made in this bulletin is accepted, it can be seen that

a new operation is necessary at this level of schooling, that of dealing with youth in a non-motivated or frustrated state, where the process is not one of changing the environment, but one of helping individual youths to adjust. The number of frustrated youth in school is not known with exactitude, but it is known that it is large enough to warrant considerable attention by educators. If a larger percentage of youth is forced to attend school even larger proportions of frustrated youth will be in evidence.

It would appear that secondary schools should spend much more time on appraising and counseling their students. To do this, some reorganization of the school's program may be necessary. For example, one period a day might be set aside in each youth's secondary school program which could be used for all appraisal and counseling work, at least when he is 13 or 14 years of age. Practically, this would mean the setting up of such a program for eighth and ninth grade youth. Another method would be to have each youth spend in a guidance and counseling situation a certain number of weeks per year, or irregular periods of several weeks each year, especially during the age range of 13 and 14 in grades 8 and 9.

If all youth in the United States are to complete the secondary school program, the means must be found for the avoidance of frustration. A large percentage of youth of school age now out of school and many of those in school are frustrated. The school of the future must have two procedures to do the job of universal education. One is to carry on a program of education which fits as nearly as possible both the needs of society and the needs of the individual and thus reduce the number of potentially frustrated youth. The other is to provide services which will identify and treat individuals who cannot accept such educational procedures so that they can be adjusted in the school program or be otherwise guided into situations more fruitful to them.

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